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Portada: Grabado en madera del *Psalter of Queen Mary*, entresacado de *Bibliographica*, Vol. II, (London:Keegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Limited, 1896). *"Two monks and two nuns, hand in hand, are dancing a measurement to the accompaniment of a guitar played by a monk and a zither in the hands of a nun. The scene is altogether so pretty and engaging, that one almost forgets that it was not the practice of members of the religious orders thus to disport themselves in careless fashion."* Sir E. Maunde Thompson

El grabado del reverso fue entresacado de *The Picturesque Antiquities of Spain* de Nathaniel Armstrong Wells (London: Richard Bentley, 1846).

JARDÍN DE LA CEIBA

Era la hora del humo abanicada por el Angelus,
bajo la sombra blanca del cielo,
como campanas a la espera,
los príncipes desnudos nos cerraban el camino.

De pie, el solitario en su traje de hojas,
la ceja alzada, un dedo de onix en los labios
escuchaba a los astros que empezaban a cantar sus recuerdos.

Hubo un revuelo de brazos y pendientes,
bajó el sol redondo a mirar la danza del vientre

Y este tranquilo Dios que he descubierto
de repente,
se abrió el pecho despacio con un silbido de alas.

Se acabará el murmullo de esta historia
pero, antes
con la mano del viento agitada entre las ramas
la bóveda verde flotando como un sombrero entre limones,
habrá un revuelo de nombres,
saltarán los racimos de las urnas
y yo escondido, oscuro y solo,
contando las venas del tiempo
en el fondo de la noria solitaria.

Una red de orquídeas cuelga de la tarde,
los árboles desatan la memoria,
llenándome de espacio me borro como una sonrisa.
Alguien me llama,
y declarando su pequeño error,
las viejas encinas se inclinan,
se distraen.

Defiendo mis últimos sueños,
el camino frente a mí, la enredadera insegura.
La mesa y la silla y las copas se han movido en silencio.
La lluvia toca con desgano el galpón donde murió la familia fusilada.

El resto es un anochecer elegante,
una pista de baile vacía
como un luna donde tú y yo nos movemos con timidez,
o una pirámide o una pareja deshaciéndose despacio.

Fernando Alegría

The Interpenetration of Some Ideas and Images in González Prada's Prose

González Prada expresses his social and political philosophy in his prose through the constant use of imagery. A general overview of the content and style of his essays has gained recent critical attention,[1] but the interpenetration of message and imagery merits an even closer look at the Peruvian's prose. I shall focus on certain patterns of interweaving images and ideas found mostly in *Horas de Lucha* and *Anarquía*—two collected works representing many newspaper articles and some speeches written from 1898 to 1909. The images therein reveal diverse ideological currents molding Prada's thought and also the purpose of his polemics as he conceived it. The ideas can be philosophical assumptions, but they can also be overt messages.

Concepts of social Darwinism, positivism, and anarchism are mixed together with seeming inconsistency: the evil bestiality in man, the dignified beast as man's equal, a scientific disintegration of society, evolutionary and scientific progress, the revolutionary apocalypse of the collapsing structure, and the utopian anarchy which mysteriously arises like a phoenix. To understand the lack of one constant logic of ideas and images even within the same essay, we must distinguish the realities and the ideals within his vision of society. Social Darwinism is criticized as the reality in Peru; anarchy is either implied or proposed as the ideal for the future.

Both style and message are usually contoured according to the audience which González Prada is trying to awaken into action. Although it is part of his anarchist credo that the intellectual and the proletarian are absolute equals, our polemicist creates more elaborate metaphors, a more pessimistic tone, and simply more insults in exposing a greedy, decadent society when addressing the intellectual elite. The newspaper articles and speeches for the proletariat, on the other hand, show a more straightforward style and more optimistic tone about revolution and anarchy. The literary critic, then, need not be perplexed by a stylistic "bivalencia antagónica."[2]

Using very different styles, Manuel González Prada elaborates on the importance of disseminating progressive ideas and convictions in two speeches—one written for the Liga de Librepensadores del Perú in 1898,[3] the other for the Federación de Obreros Panaderos in 1905. With an aesthetic formula of the insult not unlike that of Juan Montalvo, he obliquely admonishes the anti-clerical freethinkers for not putting their ideas into action: "Cuando se abriga una convicción, no se la guarda

religiosamente como una joya de familia, ni se le envasa herméticamente como un perfume demasiado sutil."[4] Religiosity and the hoarding of wealth are considered equally insulting.

González Prada then suggests two very different imperatives in sharing progressive ideas with all. Progress in rational, as opposed to religious, ideas and biological evolution are metaphorically fused in this insult to traditional religion: "Si todos los filósofos hubieran filosofado en silencio, la Humanidad no habría salido de su infancia y las sociedades seguirían gateando en el limbo de las supersticiones." (p. 40) Ignorance is bestial; to become fully human, man must progress beyond the limbo toward utopian rationality—a heaven on earth. Yet González Prada goes beyond the eighteenth-century Enlightenment concept of progress incorporated in nineteenth-century positivistic thought. He adds the second, moral imperative of generosity. Underlying it, we can detect unstated anarchist assumptions of nature. Thus he elaborates on the earlier image of hoarding wealth—ideas as privately owned jewels—by suggesting that ideas must be shared with all because they belong to none.

The anarchist denial of private ownership is followed by the anarchist ideal of absolute equality in levelling distinctions in nature and society. Consider the ambiguous language in the following parallel of man and beast, society and nature. It is a key passage in understanding contradictions that underly Prada's imagery of bestiality: "al ofrecer el pensamiento a los desconocidos, a los adversarios, a nuestros mismos aborrecedores, imitamos la inagotable liberalidad de la Naturaleza, que prodiga sus bienes al santo y al pecador, a la paloma y al gavilán, al cordero y al lobo." (p. 41) The victim and the predator in the animal world are compared to good men and evil men in society. Naturalistic Darwinism and moral hierarchy are confusingly paralleled. Just as nature is anarchic in nourishing all animals, the author would have us believe, so also progressive thinkers must not discriminate in enlightening enemies and friends. (It shall become clear that Prada is thinking in terms of the exploiter and the exploited, the ruling class and the masses.)

Thus, an anarchist ideal is hidden behind the language of naturalistic reality, the intellectual fad of the epoch. To convince, to spread new beliefs, one must use a style, vocabulary, and imagery meaningful for the particular epoch and the audience. Prada suggests the need for a transportive, communicative style through an image of the flight of ideas: "Lo humano está, no en poseer sigilosamente sus riquezas mentales, sino en sacarlas del cerebro, vestirlas con las alas del lenguaje y arrojarlas por el mundo para que vuelen a introducirse en los demás cerebros." (p. 40) In this particular speech, the audience was an intellectual elite, so that the style was profusely elegant.

Inspiring the freethinking intellectuals to spread progressive ideas, versus luring the workers in a labor union to adopt such ideas: in these

tasks, González Prada emphasizes different aspects of the same philosophical assumptions, and in different styles that appeal to different mentalities.

Our *despertador de conciencias* begins his lecture to the bakers' union (given in 1905) with a simple, fictitious conversation in which the hard-working farmer envies the poet's idyllic life of song. The attention of the bakers is captured, for they see the poet-speaker, González Prada, in this way. Yet Prada wants to instill the idea that the laborer and the intellectual do equally important work with this easily understood and unoriginal simile made by the fictitious poet: "Como te engañas, oh labrador! . . . Los dos trabajamos lo mismo y podemos decirnos hermanos; porque si tú vas sembrando en la tierra, yo voy sembrando en los corazones. Tan fecunda es tu labor como la mía: los granos de trigo alimentan el cuerpo, las canciones del poeta regocijan y nutren el alma." (pp. 51-52)[5] Note that each of the two similes is preceded by a straightforward, prosaic clarification, so that the significance cannot escape the most untrained mind.

After the poetic comparison of their work, Prada proposes the alliance of the intellectual and the worker—but it is an anarchist cooperation in which there is no hierarchy of leaders and followers, teachers and students. The intellectual should not consider himself the worker's "lazarillo," for it assumes a "jerarquía ilusoria" as well as a non-existent limitation on the worker's perceptiveness. (p. 54)

Anarchist ideals based on the naturalistic reality emerge most clearly in the speech to the bakers' union with the visualization through symbols of this message: property is evil because it is based on an unjust system of violent possession. Again, González Prada is careful to thoroughly explain his anarchist interpretation of the Roman symbol for property, "una lanza": "Este símbolo ha de interpretarse así: la posesión de una cosa no se funda en la justicia sino en la fuerza; el poseedor no discute, hiere; el corazón del proprietario encierra dos cualidades del hierro: dureza y frialdad." (p. 59) The proprietor is totally identified with his symbolic weapon. His violent conquest of property is etymologically resonant in the symbol of the iron lance—*hiere, hierro*. The unpleasant tactical qualities of the lance—"dureza y frialdad"—are transferred to the proprietor to make him despicable.

Prada again turns to the etymology of another word—Caín—to give the same message of violent possession. The Biblical allusion requires no foreknowledge, for it is fully explained: "Según los conocedores del idioma hebreo, Caín significa el *primer proprietario*. No extrañemos si un socialista del siglo XIX, al mirar en Caín el primer detentador del suelo y el primer fratricido, se valga de esa coincidencia para deducir una pavorosa conclusión: la propiedad es el asesinato." (p. 59) Thus, the audience of workers is receiving a lucid, compact lesson in historic myth, the elaboration of symbols, and anarchist philosophy. Prada's conclusion about this interpretation of property is also anarchist—the

right of the exploited to revolt. His image of revolution as "el grito de los hambrientos lanzados a la conquista del pan" (p. 60) echoes Kropotkin.

Let us now reflect on the distinct approaches toward ideas in general and the concept of property specifically in the two speeches. For his audience of elitist intellectuals, González Prada attacks the hoarding of ideas as private property and urges them to be shared, while for the labor union, he justifies rebellion against the owners of real property—we can imagine factories, plantations, mines. However, he also induces the bakers to accept progressive ideas of newspapers by likening these ideas to nourishing food, namely, bread. The idea of the intellectual and the worker as equals is now narrowed down to a simile of the journalist and the baker. Prada obviously wins the bakers' sympathy toward the intellectuals, and also their curiosity about the workers' newspaper in which he wrote most of his anarchist thought, *Los Parias*.

It is no accident that he follows with a definition of the newspaper as the educator of the workers. The oxymoronic images are meant to be a stimulus for learning, not irony: "Cierto, el diario contiene la enciclopedia de las muchedumbres, . . . el libro de los que no tienen biblioteca, la lectura de los que apenas saben o quieren leer." (p. 53) The positivist's style in González Prada comes out in bio-chemical imagery; as the scientific treatment of a disease, the workers' newspaper is "el saber propinado en dosis homeopáticas, la ciencia con el sencillo ropaje de la vulgarización." (p. 53) Remember the more elevated tone of the same image—dressing up ideas—that was used for the more aesthetically trained audience of freethinkers: *hay que* "vestirlas con las alas del lenguaje."

The speech written for the freethinkers does not state the role of the newspaper in spreading new ideas. It does evoke the Enlightenment metaphor for the minds of silent, inactive *librepensadores:* "Linternas cerradas alumbran por dentro." (p. 40) Outer darkness is silence; the inner illumination is inactive knowledge. González Prada later applies this common metaphor to the role of the newspaper, but with a much more elitist attitude than in the bread-equals-newspaper speech to the bakers. So he writes in an intellectual newspaper, *La Idea Libre:* "Abundan cerebros que no funcionan hasta que *su diario* les imprime la sacudida: especie de lámparas eléctricas, solo se inflaman cuando la corriente parte de la oficina central." (p. 97) It is at the same time a mechanical image (typical of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment) and a chemical one (reflecting nineteenth-century positivism).

However, all is not reduced to scientific calculation and control. According to Prada, the radical journalist must convince and inspire the masses, since his message replaces the old religion: "Más que el sacerdote, el periodista ejerce hoy la dirección espiritual de las muchedumbres." (p. 96) The impact of the idea disseminated through a newspaper can be spiritual and hence incalculable: "es la piedra lanzada en medio del Océano, y no sabemos a qué profundidades pueda bajar." (p. 96)

(We shall later see how the Ocean is a repeated symbol for the masses.) Whether it be turning on the electric current, or dropping a rock in the ocean's depths, González Prada has clearly depicted the elitist's image of his impact, precisely to inspire an elite into action.

Prada's varied and inconsistent use of images of bestiality reveals the transitional nature of his philosophy: a dog-eat-dog social Darwinism is the reality of Peruvian society around 1900, but all men and beasts should be equal and will be so with utopian anarchy. In 1898, he is quite serious about the Darwinian survival of the fittest. Still horrified by the memory of the disastrous War of the Pacific, when Peru was caught militarily unprepared, our social critic is arguing for national military strength.

Thus, in an 1898 speech, the imagery evokes the choice of either strength or servitude. Two types of beasts are paralleled by two modes of iron: "hagámonos fuertes: el león que se arrancara uña y dientes, moriría en boca de lobo; la nación que no lleva el hierro en las manos, concluye por arrastrarlo en los pies." (p. 38) In short, prey or be preyed upon; fight or be enslaved in chains. The image which Prada evokes by parallel here is the weaponry of man and beast. Rubén Darío will six years later (in 1904) capture it in metaphoric fusion. The "férreas garras"[6] of U.S. military strength in Rubén Darío's poem, "A Roosevelt", though the same image, is used for a very different message by the Nicaraguan poet—an anti-military, anti-imperialistic one. González Prada himself uses the same imagery to express a different ideology seven years after his 1898 speech. By 1905, he fears the grip which the Peruvian military has over society: "A ciertos felinos no se les arranca la presa sin arrancarles los dientes."[7] The plea in this particular article (published in a workers' newspaper) is for anarchist terrorism to undermine the military build-up used to suppress strikes and Indian rebellions. New wine in an old bottle!

The bestial opportunists preying upon a victimized society is one of the most predominant images in González Prada's prose. In 1898, in the wake of defeat, our polemicist depicts Peruvian society as a demoralized, decadent carcass. Politicians of all parties prey upon it and fight for the spoils "como los buitres se lanzan sobre la carne de la res desbarrancada y moribunda." (p. 17) This image of bestial gluttony is applied to the conspicuous consumption of social spectacles. High society in Lima stuffs itself with banquets, bullfights, theater, and other entertainments beyond its real needs. Prada reduces the extravagant Peruvians to mindless stomachs: "Todos convierten su cerebro en una prolongación del tubo digestivo." (p. 17) The metaphoric formula of this insult produces, in effect, a ridiculous caricature.

The images of corrupt politicians as greedy parasites vary in tone from the most terrifying to the most belittling. Enormous influence and terrifying control are conveyed in this image of the family oligarchy: "Familias enteras, a modo de gigantescos pulpos, desenvuelven uno y

mil tentáculos que van a introducirse en los vericuetos de la Caja Fiscal." (p. 158) Compare this to the image in another article—"la olla del presupuesto." (p. 177) Corrupt exploitation of the nation's wealth is described in terms of bestial voraciousness. On the other end of the scale, politicians are reduced to microscopic bacteria living off of a decadent political system: "los políticos se agitan—agitación de vibriones en las entrañas de un cadáver." (p. 160)

The image of the nation as an exploited body becomes shockingly repulsive with such bestial gluttony of the ruling class as this: "Como la culebra de los cuentos populares, sueltan sus labios a los pezones de la Nación, chupan hasta extraer sangre y nos dan la punta de su nauseabunda cola." (p. 150) Society is repeatedly depicted as a decadent woman. For example, the personification of Limeñan society creates a most vivid social, religious, sexual insult: "Lima es la zamba vieja que chupa su cigarro, empina su copa de aguardiente, arrastra sus chancletas fangosas y ejerce el triple oficio de madre acomodadiza, zurcidora de voluntades y mandaderas de convento. (p. 102) The use of a "zamba" would have a threatening shock effect on the racist society that Lima was. To shock the intellectual elite reading the newspaper, *La Idea Libre*, then, Prada implicates religion with unacceptable social, sexual, and racial habits.

To disgust the workers reading *Los Parias*, our journalist uses a bestial image which mocks the religiosity and the *economic* interests of the elite. The religious superstitions of the wealthy collect like "las deyecciones de los pájaros."[8] Elaborating on this euphemism for bird defecation, Prada then exposes the basis of their wealth with an obnoxious allusion to smell. He speaks of "una nobleza con olor a huano y salitre."[9] Indeed, not a few elites made their fortunes on the collected bird dung fertilizer, *huano*, as well as the smelly mineral, *salitre*. With such a disgusting correlation of social status and economic interests of the elites, González Prada effectively builds up the workers' disrespect for them.

High society preys on bestial defecation, bestial politicians prey on the society, yet we have not yet come full circle. For the exploited are seen as beasts as well as the exploiters in Prada's naturalistic imagery. Even the exploited can display a bestial violence. For example, Indians forced to fight on either side of a civil war become victimized beasts because they lack ideas, class consciousness, or a sense of justice. "Nada tan fácil como hacer de un ignorante una bestia feroz." (p. 16)

More basic to Pradian imagery than men exploited as ferocious beasts is the image of men as enslaved beasts of burden—as work horses, above all. Racist exploitation of Indian labor is bitterly described through metaphors of bestial treatment: "desde los primeros albores de la Conquista, los blancos hicieron del indio una raza sociológica, o más bien una casta ínfima de donde siguen extrayendo el buey de las haciendas, el topo de las minas, y la carnaza de los cuarteles." (p. 22) In another article, the writer complains that working the Indian beast to death is

not rational, not even naturalistic: "Las hormigas que domestican pulgones para ordeñarles, no imitan la imprevisión del blanco, no destruyen a su animal productivo." (p. 224) The comparison reveals a Darwinian outlook on the order of nature—hardly anarchist. Five years later, in 1909, however, the imagery of servitude has become mechanical in its dehumanization: "Hombres hay convertidos en algo inferior a las acemilas, en verdaderos aparatos que sólo realizan actos puramente mecánicos. Han perdido todo lo humano y, primero que nada, el instinto de la rebelión."[10] The capitalist, Prada adds, is the worker's god and his executioner. It is a typically anarchist vision: authoritarian society has dehumanized the worker to the point that he does not even feel the natural instinct to rebel against authority.

Highly socialized men or those with authority have become so dehumanized and so beastly according to our anarchist's judgment that the horse, in comparison, has more dignity. Twice he uses Mark Twain's aphorism, "Cuánto más conozco al hombre, más admiro al caballo." (p. 191) It is fascinating to see how this comment is employed to expound on very different facets of anarchist philosophy in two articles published in 1906 for different types of readers.

The article found in *Horas de lucha*, "Nuestros aficionados," seems to be directed at and against the *gente decente* and their favorite entertainment—bullfighting. Prada uses Mark Twain's humorous aphorism at the very beginning as a springboard for a very serious indictment of man's bestiality in allowing the horse to be slaughtered in the bullfight. He pleads for more humane treatment as part of the moral evolution toward civilization but points out that most men are still at a lowly, bestial stage: "la mayoría está lejos de haber eliminado su parte de mono." (p. 191) Darwinism is here fused with Auguste Comte's faith in moral progress. This leads to a biological positivism typical of the late nineteenth century: man as an animal must evolve and become more civilized, in other words, less bestial. One way of being more civilized, then, is to treat animals humanely.

González Prada also adds an anarchist precept to justify man's humane treatment of animals, stating that animals are man's equals and his companions. He therefore denies hierarchy in nature, yet it is based on Darwinian evolutionary theories that man had animal origins. We begin to sense the contradictions in the mixing of naturalistic, positivistic, and anarchist concepts. Naturalistic: man is bestial in the full negative sense of the survival of the fittest. Positivistic: man can and must rise above his bestial state in a biological *and* moral evolution. Anarchist: the beast is man's equal in his right to exist with dignity and freedom. Our anarchist thinker converts this last dogma into a religious, Zoroastrian-type respect for all life: "Bárbaro el que inútilmente deshoja una flor o destruye una planta, bárbaro el que innecesariamente o por mera diversión suprime un insecto." (p. 193) Note that the commandment is modified by positivistic, utilitarian considerations.

The treatment of human and animal workers is paralleled in the following plea for the horse: "obrero como el hombre, como el hombre merece disfrutar los beneficios de una ley protectora." (p. 192) Although Prada never in this article states a revolutionary, anarchist cause, he does reveal its philosophical assumption of absolute equality among men and beasts and applies it to a legal, reformist goal. Contrast this to the more radical tone of the same concept in the following passage published in a workers' newspaper: "entre el empleado del tranvía y el caballo [que lo tira] hay una semblanza y debe existir una simpatía: ambos son la presa del mismo tirano."[11] The vocabluary here incites indignation and rebellion, not legal reforms.

Similarly, when compared to its message in the article against bullfighting, Mark Twain's aphorism takes on a much more revolutionary, anarchist message in the article, "Necedades," originally published in the workers' newspaper, *Los Parias*.[12] In it, Prada relates the frustrated attempt by Spanish anarchists to assassinate King Alfonso III, in which horses were killed by accident in the bombing instead of the monarch. This time the aphorism climaxes the article. It is transformed into a sarcastic yet deadly serious call for tyrannicide in the context of the attempt in Spain. "Nos contentaremos con parodiar al humorista Mark Twain y decir: 'Cuánto más conocemos a los reyes, más estimación sentimos por los caballos.' "[13] Tyrannicide, of course, is a basic strategy of the anarchist. On another occasion, the Peruvian *pensador* reverts to the concept of the tyrant's bestiality (he is no longer human) to justify tyrannicide. Thus, "Al matarle no se comete homicidio." And he directly quotes Montalvo's simile reducing the tyrant to a lowly state of bestiality: "se le puede matar como se mata un tigre, una culebra."[14]

Certain categorical assumptions in Prada's images of beasts become apparent: some animals are good, like horses, and others evil, like snakes. This inequality—applicable to men as well as beasts—denies an absolute concept of anarchy and instead affirms a moral hierarchy in nature by which the evil and the good are usually equivalent to the exploiter and the exploited, the predator and the victim, the strong and the weak. Such is the old, naturalistic order—before the awakening of the weak victim to revolutionary strength which will lead toward utopian anarchy. González Prada repeatedly employs an imagery of the awakened beast (first weak, then strong) in order to give confidence to the masses. For example, "si las muchedumbres tienen sueños de marmota, conocen despertamientos de león."[15] Revolutionary ideas bring about the awakening: "Sin hombres animados por el oxígeno revolucionario, la Tierra formaría un amodorrado reino de quinquendones."[16] This elitist statement, with its witty imagery and exclusive vocabulary, was not written for an immediate public in 1914. In contrast, when the journalist writes for a newspaper in 1901, he directly insults the proletariat for accepting its politicians, its exploiters: "Pobre rebaño que se congratula y satisface con la facultad de eligir a sus trasquiladores."[17]

But this image of sheepish weakness is immediately followed by one of dormant power just waiting to be unleashed: "Más que un rebaño, las muchedumbres son gigantes encadenados con telarañas."[18] The article ends on this optimistic note: the insult has been transformed into encouragement for revolution. The webs insinuate how easy it is to break out of servitude: they are unpleasant webs, not iron chains.

The role of violence in breaking the bonds of society is essential to the anarchist apocalyptic vision. González Prada prefers open, brute violence to a social Darwinism legalized and rationalized by laws. A yearning for the struggle on the level of absolutely free individuals is expressed in this image of simple savagery: "Queremos hallarnos en una selva, frente a frente de un salvaje con su honda y su palo, no en un palacio de Justicia cara a cara a un leguleyo pertrechado con notificaciones y papel de oficio." (p. 137) The mocking tone suggests utter contempt for the exploiters' hypocrisy of being civilized. The anarchist assumption is that the individual cannot break away from the oppressions of society by working within the system. The savagery of the struggle is not demeaning; it is natural, necessary, and liberating. On the other hand, the insulting bestial image for magistrates seems imprisoning, impotent, and ugly: "guardan en la cabeza un nido de ratones." (p. 136) Thus law is the sepulcher of the intellect (p. 131)—an anarchist's anti-legal image.

Very similar to the entangling legalism of society and its violent solution is an image used in the speech for the bakers' union. In contrast to the geometric complexities of revolutionary theorists, Prada claims, "la multitud . . . sigue el ejemplo de Alejandro: no desata el nudo, lo corta de un sablazo." (p. 55) There is a difference, however, with the previous image of one against one in the jungle. The masses replace the individual as the protagonist in the apocalyptic solution to the world's complex problems.

In contrast to the revolutionary apocalypse ushering in the utopian anarchy, our philosopher-poet also forges images of mankind's gradual evolution and elevation. For example, the slow progress is a struggle in this metaphor: "La Humanidad es una inmensa caravana, mejor dicho, un ejército con sus perezosos y sus cobardes . . . El nivel de la especie humana sube muy lentamente, pero sube." (p. 76) On another occasion, the ascent to utopia seems mysterious and almost mystical: *La Humanidad* "asciende por una escala misteriosa y cada día se acerca más a una cumbre de serenidad y luz."[19] Enlightenment thus takes on the air of heavenly revelation. The ascent is not always a peaceful evolution, because rebellion can give momentum for progress: "los gritos de alarma . . . arrancan a la Humanidad de su letargo."[20] This is hardly a positivistic vision of scientific evolution.

On the other hand, organic-chemical images from science sometimes visualize, not progress, but rather the moral disintegration of society. For instance, the following metaphor refers to the lack of steadfast poli-

tical convictions among Peruvian journalists: "especie de moléculas errantes, nuestros famosos publicistas entran hoy en la combinación de un sólido, mañana en la de un líquido, pasado mañana en la de un gas." (p. 99) This ultimate evaporation not only ridicules the dissolute journalists of the old regime; it subtly implies their eventual disappearance. The scientific language shows how much the Age of Positivism made its imprint on Prada's imagination. Yet the message of disintegration is very different from the constructive progress acclaimed by the typical positivist.

From positivism González Prada takes his pretense of scientific knowledge in foreseeing the anarchist future. Of course, the prediction is hardly positivistic: "La Ciencia continene afirmaciones anárquicas y la Humanidad tiende a orientarse en dirección de la Anarquía."[21] It is the key passage in understanding Prada's attempt to bridge two philosophies and to use the scientific imagery of positivism at the service of an anarchist message. But is this presumably scientific process, which is leading to anarchy, revolutionary or evolutionary? First, Prada sometimes uses scientific similes to suggest that there are deterministic laws in nature and society which can be observed and controlled. Second, revolution is seen as the acceleration of a determined evolution: it is compared to heating up water to speed up the evaporation which is going to happen anyway.[22] We can now better understand the previous image—the evaporation of those journalists without convictions. Social disintegration will, Prada assumes with great faith, usher in the utopian anarchy.

It is revealing to compare Prada's imagery of the rational, scientific revolution before and after his stay in Europe from 1891 to 1898, for his visit to Spain during a period of intense anarchist activity undoubtedly turned him toward anarchist thought. Consider this image, written in 1889 for an elitist audience, describing the role of elitist ideas and popular action in any social change: "Las cuestiones sociales son problemas, planteados con la pluma en el silencio del gabinete, resueltos con pólvora en el fragor de las barricadas. Los Enciclopedistas plantearon la ecuación, el pueblo francés encontró la incógnita."[23] This image of the French Revolution as mathematically conceived and executed precedes González Prada's conversion to anarchism and its religious faith in apocalypse. Even when violence is depicted in the imagery of 1889, social change is on a certain, predictable course: "un acontecimiento en marcha, . . . desaparece como locomotora en el túnel i [sic] de cuando en cuando estalla en medio de un pueblo, como súbita llamarada de fuego subterráneo."[24] Revolutionary ferment is not always visible, yet social change is always in horizontal progress, inevitably heading toward its unstated destination.

Fifteen years later, in a workers' newspaper this time, González Prada uses a train metaphor to elaborate on the anarchist concept of abolishing the state. The belief that "el movimiento social" is impossible without "el motor del Estado" is compared to the mystery some ignorant people

feel over how a train can run without animal traction.[25] Obedience to the State is unnecessary servitude; a more modern engine is implied but not specified. People immaturely fear anarchic freedom from the state and want to be led: "en plena libertad, vacilamos como ciegos sin lazarillo, temblamos como niño en medio de las tinieblas."[26] Prada elsewhere speaks out against the intellectual as "lazarillo del obrero." Considering these two instances of the same image, we may infer the idea that every individual must grow to a mature capacity for independence. Of course, one of the most basic tenets of anarchism is the absolute freedom of the individual from controls by the state, structured society, or any kind of hierarchical leadership.

Society is repeatedly seen in the image of a decaying structure, ready to collapse with the anarchist revolution. On one occasion, it is described as a decrepit building propped up by iron columns—the new armaments of the military establishment.[27] The anarchist agitator adds that, although popular revolts are better controlled, at the same time individual terrorism also becomes more effective with the use of these new weapons.

The collapsing structure of society—the anarchist vision of apocalypse —is portrayed in both speeches: one for the *librepensadores*, and the other for the bakers' union. Many elements of the imagery are the same, but the messages are somewhat different. In both cases, the natural catastrophe of a rising flood (the masses) will destroy the elevated structure (the hierarchical society). For the intellectuals, it is a warning against indifference, isolation, inaction: "el que vive a las orillas de un río puede no acordarse de las aguas pero las aguas no se olvidan de él, cuando el río sale de madre. No sirven torres de márfil ni montañas de cumbres inaccesibles." (p. 47) Elsewhere, the imagery of isolated elevation explicitly signifies the decadent upper classes: "La muerte moral se concentra en la cumbre o clases dominantes . . . El Perú es montaña coronada por un cementerio." (p. 22)

In contrast to the warning for the intellectuals, the vision of the flood destroying the decadent structure becomes a message of confidence and encouragement for the workers: "Mañana, cuando surjan olas de proletarios que se lancen a embestir contra los muros de la vieja sociedad, los deprecadores y los opresores palparán que les llegó la hora de la batalla decisiva y sin cuartel." (p. 60) In this speech given to a labor union, Prada then depicts a frightened old regime helplessly surrounded by the flood of the masses: "los opresores huirán a fortificarse en castillos y palacios . . . ; al ver que el auxilio no llega y que el oleaje de cabezas amenazadoras hierve en los cuatro puntos del horizonte, . . . repetirán con espanto: ¡Es la *inundación* de *los bárbaros!*" (p. 60)

But the vivid polemicist rejects this image of an evil catastrophe and instead implies the apocalypse as a natural blessing: "No somos la inundación de la barbarie, somos el diluvio de la justicia." Prada thus spurs on the revolutionary masses with a moral, celestial sanction. Although

he always rejected religious dogmas and institutions, his moral righteousness here becomes apparent. The image shifts from the horizontal to the vertical; in a larger sense, his philosophy implies a radical shift from a naturalistic reality to an anarchist retribution.

The aggressive imagery of power for the workers suggests a fated destiny, whereas for the intellectual audience there emerges a warning to the indifferent, isolated people to become active in social change: "no habiendo querido actuar como personajes del drama, figuran como víctimas en el desplome del edificio." (p. 47) The punishment implies a free choice not taken.

Conclusion—A Parenthesis, a Tangent, and Some Wine

The anarchist apocalypse is, in a sense, the instantaneous vision of that previous, pseudo-positivistic image—the scientific disintegration of society. The transitional nature of Prada's thought from 1898 to 1909 is well represented by the highly ambiguous statement that "La Ciencia contiene afirmaciones anárquicas y la Humanidad tiende a orientarse en dirección de la Anarquía."[28] Let us confine the period and the ambiguity with a parenthesis. Two images of the vertical vs. the horizontal, one written in 1880, the other in 1915, unambiguously reveal the change in Prada's ideas, his preoccupations, and the tone of his style.

In 1880, Prada the positivist pleads that the new scientific truth be written with simplicity in literature, yet he makes his plea through the most elaborate imagery and complicated syntax:

> Sí, verdades aunque sean pedestres: a vestirse con alas de cera para elevarse unos cuantos metros i [sic] caer, es preferible tener pies musculosos i triple calzado de bronce para marchar en triunfo sobre espinas i rocas de la Tierra.[29]

Note the desire to be firmly grounded in a reality of horizontal progress. Verticality represents an elevated, complicated style which tries to escape reality. (Of course, in this flowery passage, Prada himself is blantantly inconsistent with his message.) That was in 1880.

By 1915, Prada the despondent anarchist gives a completely different, moralistic meaning to the imagery of the vertical and the horizontal. Immoral, bestial voraciousness is correlated with the horizontal position:

> Nuestra geometría moral no conoce líneas verticales. La horizontal es la posición favorita de las meretrices y de muchísimos peruanos: ellas boca arriba y abrazando al hombre que paga, ellos boca abajo y lamiendo los pies del tiranuelo que arroja la pitanza.[30]

In thirty-five years, the Peruvian social critic has become much more pessimistic and moralistic at the same time. Moral outrage has replaced optimistic rationalism.

Let me outline a tangential thesis not developed in this paper. Prada's imagery could be studied for its shifting between the horizontal (being grounded in naturalistic reality) and the vertical (the impulse toward a moral elevation). Positivistic evolution seems one connecting link; it is a slow struggle upward to civilization. Anarchist revolution, on the other hand, destroys the old vertical order, the social hierarchy, and permits a phoenix-like moral elevation. I have made this scheme of imagery a logical sequence for the sake of clarifying its philosophical origins; González Prada does not. Instead, he mixes these images and others just as he combines his philosophical ideas.

Some of the confused variety in the imagery, then, directly reflects the fusion of different ideological currents. On one level, his basic, philosophical vision of society and the essence of his images show certain parallel developments in time. But a writer can emphasize certain aspects of the same philosophical vision in order to bring forth different messages, and he can do so by changing the style of a basic image. On another level, then, message and style are modified according to the didactic purpose of effectively communicating with a given audience—such as intellectuals or workers.

Without proving it, Robert G. Mead makes the following generalization about the correlation of González Prada's ideas and images: over the years, increasingly scientific metaphors reflect an increasing positivism.[31] I would disagree. Prada becomes increasingly anarchist, and he tends to express his changing philosophical ideas with the same old images. New wine in old bottles. The wine given to the workers is more potent, making them drunk with revolution; while the wine offered to the elites is somewhat diluted. The worker's bottle is simple and bold in its form; Prada would offer the intellectual a more complex, oftentimes grotesque, design. Grotesque images that would shock and awaken social consciences.

"Cada lugar y cada situación requieren su lenguaje: en el salón no se habla como en la calle ni en las horas de calma y normalidad como en vísperas de las grandes conmociones populares." These are the words of Manuel González Prada himself toward the end of his writing career.[32] For those interested in pursuing the evolution of his ideas in the context of changing times and places, it would be advisable to consult the detailed and well-documented biography by Luís Alberto Sánchez, *Nuestras vidas son los ríos.*[33]

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FOOTNOTES

1. Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, "El ensayo de Manuel González Prada," *Revista Iberoamericana*, Num. 95 (abril-junio 1976, pp. 239–249.

2. See Miguel Angel Calgano, *El pensamiento de González Prada*, (Montevideo, 1958), pp. 34–35. This perplexed critic resorts to unwarranted psychiatric second-guessing to explain the apparent stylistic "schizophrenia."

3. Fearing the radical ideas, the government prevented Prada from giving the speech by obstructive police tactics. Luís Alberto Sánchez, *Don Manuel*, Lima, 1930, pp. 187–188.

4. Manuel González Prada, *Horas de lucha*, (Ediciones Peisa: Lima), 1969, p. 40. All subsequent citations of this edition will be made in the text itself in parenthesis.

5. This speech, entitled "El intelectual y el obrero", can also be found in *Anarquía*. Given its message and style geared toward the worker, it is more appropriate in *Anarquía* than in *Horas de lucha*, but for the sake of convenience we have cited the more popular book.

6. Rubén Darío, *Cantos de vida y esperanza*, Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1968, p. 53.

7. *Anarquía*, Lima, 1948, p. 42.

8. Manuel González Prada, *Prosa Menuda*, Buenos Aires, 1941, p. 15. Most of the articles collected in this book were originally published in *Los Parias*.

9. *Prosa menuda*, p. 15.

10. *Anarquía*, p. 122.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–64.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

16. Manuel González Prada, *Bajo el oprobio*, Paris, 1933, p. 134.

17. *Anarquía*, p. 126.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

23. Manuel González Prada, *Pájinas libres*, Lima, 1946, p. 281.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

25. *Anarquía*, p. 29.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

29. *Pájinas libres*, p. 47.

30. *Bajo el oprobio*, p. 84.

31. Robert G. Mead, Jr., *González Prada—el pensador y el prosista*, N.Y., 1955.

32. From *Bajo el oprobio*, quoted by his son, Alfredo González Prada in the introduction to *Prosa menuda*, p. 11.

33. Luís Alberto Sánchez, *Nuestras vidas son los ríos (Historia y leyenda de los González Prada)*, Lima: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 1977.

Teatro brasileiro: Encontro de perspectivas

Preliminares

Segundo alguns autores a Literatura Brasileira começa com o teatro— Anchieta produziu uma obra catequética na qual a encenação das verdades cristãs conseguia efeitos notáveis: *Auto de São Lourenço* e *Auto de Natal*. Teatro vicentino e medievalizante, efeitos de luz e sombra, grande do espetáculo, música e bailado são os ingredientes que fazem a teatralidade de Anchieta.

Apesar do prenúncio, a idéia não vingou nem fez-se tradição. Até o Romantismo praticamente não haverá teatro brasileiro.

Teatro no Romantismo

Há que destacar um texto de Gonçcalves de Magalhães: *Antônio José ou o Poeta e a Inquisição* (1838), retórico e literário, imprestável para encenação. Seu valor é histórico, sendo a primeira tragédia escrita no Brasil.

O verdadeiro fundador do teatro nacional é Martins Pena (1815–1848). Suas comédias são ágeis, rápidas; o autor sabe observar, analisar, criticar. É um verdadeiro panorama da realidade da época. A galeria de tipos de Martins Pena é incontável: caixeiros, espertalhões, usurários, noviços, padres, ciumentos, megeras e donzelas, ingênuos e astutos, tipos sociais e seres comuns, polícias, estrangeiros, sertanejos. Faz excelente análise do amor, descreve a psicologia feminia, estuda o casamento, o namoro, as intrigas domésticas e econômicas, os casos políticos e sociais da cidade. A encenação busca todos os recursos possíveis: surpresa do desfecho, correrias pelo palco, gritos e arruaças, esconderijos, cartas, disfarces, erros de pessoa, concentração de fatos, linguagem que lembra a de *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias*. Não é à toa que João Caetano, o maior ator brasileiro do séc. XIX, disse Martins Pena ser o Molière brasileiro.

Principais peças: *O Juiz de Paz na Roça*, 1842; *A Família e a Festa na Roça*, 1842; *O Judas em Sábado de Aleluia*, 1846; *Os Irmãos* das Almas, 1846; *O Diletante*, 1846; *O Caixeiro da Taverna*, 1847; *Quem Casa Quer Casa*, 1847; *O Noviço*, 1853; *Os Dois ou O Inglês Maquinista*, 1871; *Os Três Médicos; As Casadas Solteiras; O Usurário; Os Meirinhos; O Cigano; O Jogo de Prendas; A Barriga de Meu Tio; Um Segredo de Estado* [textos que se encontram na edição crítica de Darcy Damasceno, 1956] Deixou alguns textos trágicos.

Depois de Martins Pena o teatro continuou sob Joaquim Manuel de Macedo (*O Primo da Califórnia; Luxo e Vaidade*) e conseguiu chegar a

bons resultados com a tragédia de Gonçalves Dias—*Leonor de Mendonça*, 1847 e com José de Alencar (*O Demônio Familiar*, 1847; *Verso e Reverso*, 1857; *As Asas de um Anjo*, 1860; *Mãe*, 1862; *O Jesuíta*, 1875).

O texto de Gonçalves Dias retoma uma convenção romântica: o drama histórico: a vocação das personagens para o mal acaba cedendo à ânsia de remissão, o que acontece no fim do texto.

José de Alencar tem um bom sentido de colocação da cena, constrói textos problemáticos, polêmicos, assunto do momento em que critica, defende, acusa. Volta-se para a sociedade escravocrata, os tipos humanos, os conflitos sociais. Vários autores do período romântico tentaram o teatro, mas poucos foram felizes como Martins Pena ou Alencar. Foi o que houve com Castro Alves, com o drama *Gonzaga ou a Revolução de Minas*, 1876.

Rupturas de Qorpo Santo

Nascido na Vila do Triunfo, em 1829, falecido em Porto Alegre em 1883, José Joaquim de Campos Leão adotou, por volta dos trinta anos, o nome Qorpo Santo por acreditar-se santo. A ortografia é uma singularidade pessoal, decorrendo de uma proposta de reforma ortográfica que o A. fez e perfilhou. Em 1840, conforme sua *Autobiografia*, segue para Porto Alegre a fim de estudar, mas acaba caindo no comércio. E é como cobrador de firma comercial que percorre o interior da Província, até tornar-se professor de primeiras letras em Santo Antônio da Patrulha. Só retornou à capital em 1856, quando se casa e funda o Colégio Francês e Brasileiro de *São João. Mas não fica muito tempo em Porto Alegre: segue para Alegrete, onde funda outro colgio, chega a subdelegado de polícia e vereador. Volta à capital em 1862, onde vive até a morte, já tenso entre a sanidade e a demência.*

Em 1877 monta uma impressora e publica os volumes da Enciclopédia, obra singular e original, "coletânea hoje absolutamente rara" e "raridade bibliográfica," no dizer de Guilhermino César, que lhe reúne escritos políticos, morais, poemas, comédias (cf. *As Relações Naturais e Outras Comédias*, Porto Alegre, 1969).

A grande atração que desperta ainda hoje—ou melhor, um século depois de publicado—é o teatro: abolindo as convenções, opera seccionamentos espaciais (um quarto de casal burguês pode ser um bordel, depende de ângulo de visão), temporais (mistura do presente e do passado, do atual e do transcendente), constrói cenas ilógicas, inventa nomes esdrúxulos para seres de um teatro do absurdo (Mateusa, Truquetruque, Pedra, Lindo/Linda, Brás/Ferrabrás), explora o ridículo (como a queda do casal de oitenta anos numa disputa "amorosa," em *Mateus e Mateusa*).

Qorpo Santo ocupa lugar da maior singularidade na história do teatro brasileiro: urge descobrir o que vem suspenso por detrás dos termos, das marcações, dos gestos. Até nas contradições ele consegue

ser original. Tece a crítica dos atos humanos, da sociedade e sua organização. Inventa uma psicologia das intenções, quando o pedido, o gesto, o carinho, a palavra destituída de carga interior conseguem trair bloqueios psíquicos, complexos reprimidos, uma erótica que entrava o ser na sua expansão. As comédias fazem a perseguição dos sistemas sociais falsos ou falhos, aos administradores, aos prepotentes e ambiciosos. Pelo ridículo absurdo e impossível, Qorpo Santo vai desmontando, em textos relâmpagos e contundentes, a carcaça interior e exterior do homem.

O comediógrafo chega a notável limpidez e despojamento de frase, propõe recursos ao encenador (ampliação ou redução), opera cortes cênicos que dão incrível vivacidade ao conjunto.

Nunca em comediógrafo brasileiro o *nonsense* e a crítica se deram as mãos com tanta naturalidade e expressividade.

O experimento de Qorpo Santo ganhará forma definitiva e prosseguimento em Oswald de Andrade, cujo teatro (*O Homem e o Cavalo*, *A Morta* e *O Rei da Vela*) renova-se mediante o corte, o poético da descrição da cena, a entrada insuspeitada da idéia e da personagem, a abertura para a criação cênica por parte do diretor. *O Rei da Vela*, por exemplo, focaliza a economia cafeeira em decadência no período que antecede à Segunda Guerra. Há um conflito social estabelecido no país: os donos da indústria contra os donos de terra. Os primeiros se aliam aos capitalistas internacionais a fim de vencer a batalha contra os segundos. A peça é uma crítica aguda ao sistema interno que se deixa embair pelo externo. É o engajamento praticado por Oswald em seu teatro.

Teatro no Realismo

O grande teatro, a retomada de Martins Pena só vai acontecer próximo à virada do século com França Júnior (1838–1890) e Artur Azevedo (1855–1908).

França Júnior tem sido considerado o maior comediógrafo brasileiro. Dentre seus textos cumpre destacar: *Meia-Hora de Cinismo*, 1861; *A República Modelo*, 1861; *Tipos da Atualidade*, 1862; *Ingleses na Costa*, 1864; *Os Candidatos*, 1881; *Amor com Amor se Paga*, 1882; *O Defeito da Família*, 1882; *Direito por Linhas Tortas*, 1882; *Um Tipo Brasileiro*, 1882; *O Beijo de Judas*, 1882; *Bendito Chapéu*, 1882; *Caiu o Ministério*, 1882; *O Carnaval no Rio*, 1882; *Como se Fazia um Deputado*, 1882; *De Petrópolis a Paris*, 1884; *Duas Pragas Familiares*, 1890; *Entrei para o Clube*, 1890; *A Lotação dos Bondes*, 1890; *A Maldita Parentela*, 1890; *Portugueses às Direitas*, 1890.

Os truques de Martins Pena, as situações e imprevistos, a movimentação da cena, tudo numa linguagem teatral superior, é objeto das comédias de França Júnior (autor que precisa ser retomado pelos jovens, que lhe vão apreciar os textos).

Artur Azevedo é análogo, se bem que menos intelectual no manejo da linguagem. Sabe pôr ao vivo o flagrante, dizer o mínimo e revelar o máximo, sabe usar o termo preciso. Sua produção é incrivelmente vasta,

tendo deixado mais de duzentas peças, entre *vaudevilles*, burletas, revistas, operetas, comédias. Cumpre destacar: *Amor por Anexins*, s/d; *A Jóia*, 1879; *A Almanjarra*, 1888; *O Badejo*, s/d; *A Capital Federal*, 1897; *O Mambembe*.

Nesse tempo também Machado de Assis produz alguns textos teatrais, mas sem a vocação da cena como os dois maiores.

Esvaziamento do Teatro

Depois do Realismo, do sucesso de França Júnior e Artur Azevedo, o teatro cai num marasmo acentuado. Os textos produzidos são secundários, pois romancistas, poetas, homens de cultura escreviam, mas numa linguagem artificial, sem vocação para a cena.

Houve algumas produções, mas aquela força de antes se perdeu. Assim, Cláudio de Sousa (1876–1954): *Mata-a ou Ele te Matará*, 1896; *Flor de Sombra*, 1916; *A Arte de Seduzir*, 1927; Goulart de Andrade (1881–1936): *Sonata ao Luar; Depois da Morte; Renúncia; Jesus*, 1909; *Os Inconfidentes*, 1910; *Um Dia a Casa Cai*, 1923; João do Rio (1881–1921): *Eva Última Noite; Que Pena ser só Ladrão; A Bela Madame Vargas;* Roberto Gomes (1882–1922): *Berenice* (drama em quatro atos) e *O Canto Sem Palavras*.

O Teatro de Joracy Camargo

A partir dos experimentos de Oswald de Andrade (já tratados anteriormente), começou uma revitalização do teatro: companhias profissionais, grupos amadores criam-se em todo canto do país, casas de espetáculo de boa qualidade, conforto e recursos são postos à disposição do público, dos atores e diretores. É o período em que vai aparecer Joracy Camargo (1898–1976), egresso do Teatro de Brinquedo, de Álvaro Moreira (autor de *Adão, Eva e Outros Membros da Família*).

Hoje é possível sentir a fraqueza interna de *Deus lhe Pague* (1932). Lançou o teatro social no Brasil, e isto é um mérito, cujos efeitos serão sentidos a partir de 1950. Em trinta anos *Deus lhe Pague* alcançou mais de dex mil representações. Sábato Magaldi sustenta que uma análise da peça mostra-lhe a limitação e a pequenez dramática. Em frente de uma igreja estão dois mendigos (um deles é filósofo). Quando jovem inventou uma máquina cujos desenhos foram roubados por um capitalista. Pretendendo reaver o projeto, foi preso. A mulher enlouquece, o homem vai para a prisão—saindo comete vingança, assumindo a miséria. Mendigo, cultiva uma jovem, em quem inocula sua filosofia (filosofia que não passa de tolice, pois se aproveita da hipocrisia da sociedade, faz-lhe o jogo e enriquece ilicitamente como todos os outros). Magaldi salienta, porém, que apesar de conter frases-feitas, conteúdo elementar e pobre, *Deus lhe Pague* é um texto cuja agilidade cênica e cujos efeitos funcionam muito bem no palco.

A Renovação de Nelson Rodrigues

O salto qualitativo vai ser dado por Nelson Rodrigues. Claro que ele não apareceu de repente. Houve grupos, como o Teatro do Estudante do Brasil, fundado por Paschoal Carlos Magno, o grupo Os Comediantes, a Escola de Arte Dramática, de 1948, a presença do diretor polonês Ziembinski. Isso tudo trouxe o teatro a plano superior, ao nível de nossa melhor poesia, do romance e da pintura. É o momento em que Nelson Rodrigues (1912) modifica a cena brasileira e *Vestido de Noiva* (1943) vem acompanhado de um cortejo de companhias, textos, tendências, contatos internacionais. Isso dura até aproximadamente 1965, quando o teatro novamente se esvazia e de tal modo que não se pode prever nada sobre o futuro: castração geral.

As obras de Nelson Rodrigues encontram-se publicadas em *Teatro Quase Completo*, 1964-66.

É uma obra que apresenta duas vertentes: a) exploração das camadas profundas do homem (arquétipos, inconsciente, forças ocultas que controlam as atividades): *Vestido de Noiva, Álbum de Família, Anjo Negro, Senhora dos Afogados.* b) Vinculação à realidade urbana carioca (retoma o conflito interior da criatura, mas como decorrência de uma situação social específica): *A Falecida, Boca de Ouro, Beijo no Asfalto, Bonitinha mas Ordinária.*

Com Nelson Rodrigues o teatro atingiu nível artístico maior. *Vestido de Noiva* opera-se em três planos: realidade, alucinação e memória. A partir do fato (Alaíde, a protagonista, é atropelada, operada e morre), o dramaturgo consegue arrancar efeitos fortíssimos de tensão e inevitabilidade trágica. No tempo que antecede à morte, as energias se concentram, liberando sonhos e desejos inconfessados—atuam, nesse momento, os dois outros planos: alucinação e memória. O criador psicanalisa a criatura, donde a fragmentária, alógica e estonteante execução da peça. Nesse caos, porém, levanta-se uma ordem poética superior —a coerência está no incoerente.

Mas não é só pelo ângulo temático que *Vestido de Noiva* renova (descobre) a dramaturgia brasileira. A linguagem é perfeita, tem a dicção própria do teatro (não é linguagem de ficção ou de poesia empregada artificialmente no teatro). O sentido da cena é correto: o desastre que acode Alaíde é, no fundo, procurado, pois ela sai na direção dele depois de uma refrega com a irmã sobre assunto doméstico. A autoflagelo se investe do melhor sentido trágico.

As produções do dramaturgo sustentam esse comportamento estrutural.

O Teatro de Jorge Andrade

Do mesmo modo que Jorge Amado fixa a mudança do universo do fazendeiro, com seus hábitos, costumes, tradições, ideologia e saga heróica para o universo do capitalista, com profunda alteração dos

padrões de vida (Cel. Horácio *x* Carlos Zude),* Assim também Jorge Andrade (1922) inventa seu teatro a partir da mudança que sofre São Paulo com a crise do café e a revolução de trinta. No fundo, os dois autores registram a mudança da própria realidade brasileira (economia rural *x* economia urbana), perceptível ainda em José Lins do Rego, Carlos Drummond de Andrade e Érico Veríssimo. *A Moratória* (moratória é a dilação concedida pelo credor ao devedor para que este salde uma dívida: o protagonista espera saldar a dívida das terras e a elas retornar), é a crise vista dos que ficaram do lado de lá, que não conseguiram saldar a dívida e se contorcem no vazio melancólico do mundo perdido.

Mas isso é feito dramaticamente, os seres da peça—Joaquim, Helena, Lucília, Marcelo, Olímpio, Elvira—todos vivem a sua vida e *A Moratória* não é um texto engajado num problema social. O trágico provém da vida experimentada pelas personagens e do que elas são. Por exemplo: as mulheres (Helena e Lucília) sustentam a casa, graças ao trabalho doméstico; o velho Quim mantém o orgulho, o poder de mando, a cepa velha e o tipo de negócio que sempre praticou, mas não percebe que a realidade é outra—por isso ele sucumbe. Eis o trágico.

A peça é construída em dois planos temporais: um se passa em 1929, numa fazenda de café; outro, três anos depois, numa pequena cidade, aí perto. Além da linguagem, da mais perfeita teatralidade, o tempo é o outro maravilhoso recurso dessa peça. O autor faz a narrativa caminhar simultaneamente nos dois tempos—passado e futuro—para justapô—los ao final, no momento da revelação da catástrofe, quando nem a esperança ou a mentira dizem qualquer coisa. Como explica corretamente Décio de Almeida Prado: "cada plano descreve a sua própria curva, indo da esperança ao desespero ou vice-versa—até que sobrevenha a derrocada final. Mas o gráfico, a fisionomia última da peça, é constituída pela habilíssima superposição das duas curvas. A história contada em seqüencia cronológica não seria a mesma história."

Outras peças do autor retomam a mesma problemática ou desviam caminho para situações atuais, conflitos urbanos ou de geração, como *Senhora na Boca do Lixo*, dos mais amargos e cruéis da dramaturgia brasileira, denúncia da corrupção pela mostragem: as classes dirigentes cometem o crime—contrabando—mas o pequeno, sem as defesas do grande, acaba sendo punido: a corda arrebenta do lado mais fraco. Na fábula, uma velha senhora—Noêmia—que vive dos sonhos de um passado perdido, é envolvida para que seu filho faça aquilo que interessa a determinado grupo.

Jorge Andrade é o dramaturgo de São Paulo—suas metamorfoses, evolução, conflitos. Dentre suas obras há que destacar: *As Confrarias*, *Pedreira das Almas*, *A Moratória*, *O telescópio*, *Vereda da Salvação*, *A*

*Terras do Sem-Fim x São Jorge dos Ilhéus

Escada, Os Ossos do Barão, Senhora na Boca do Lixo, Rasto Atrás, O Sumidouro [sob o título *Marta, a Árvore e o Relógio* seus textos foram reunidos em volume em 1970].

O Retorno do Maravilhoso Cristão

No fim da década de 50 e início de 60, a poesia explode as formas tradicionais, corrompe o verso e instaura o concreto, o objeto se ilumina afastando a linguagem. O teatro, paradoxalmente, faz o contrário, nem quer saber o que se passa com sua irmã: corre às fontes populares, se abebera do redondilho e do maravilhoso, assume as formas de vida simples sertaneja. Enquanto a poesia (concreta, práxis, poema/processo) quer a propaganda, o anúncio luminoso, o centro cosmopolita, o teatro redescobre a poesia milenar do povo através do arlequim, do trovador preguiçoso (preguiça como filosofia de vida, como ócio criador do poeta), do avarento, da religião popular (que usurpa à Igregja sofisticada e erudita, inautêntica, a fonte primordial de alegria e perfeição). O teatro reinventou isso tudo e povoou outra vez a cena de beleza.

O responsável por esse trabalho é Ariano Suassuna, cuja obra compreende teatro e ficção: *Auto da Compadecida*, 1955; *Farsa da Boa Preguiça*, 1960; *O Santo e a Porca* e *O Casamento Suspeitoso*, 1964; *A Pena e a Lei*, 1971. Ox textos ficcionais: *A Pedra do Reino*, 1971; *O Rei Degolado*, 1976.

Com o *Auto da Compadecida* o teatro retoma a tradição vicentina e ibérica (popular) através dos temas dos folhetos do Nordeste. A linguagem (diálogo) é de uma limpidez superior—não se trata de um intelectual à última hora experimentando o teatro, mas de um autor cuja vocação é o teatro.[1] A peça é construída com habilidade, as passagens de cena e os movimentos gerais do texto são absolutos e coerentes.

O material é colhido da tradição do povo, sem vulgaridade ou aleivosia intelectual. O herói, João Grilo, possui a astúcia e a agressividade necessárias à sua existência e tipificação. A peça opera uma inversão de termos, pois aquilo que de início parece o vitorioso, ao final será o vencido; o melhor, será o pior; o mais adequado é o que estava em falta ou erro (o bispo, o padeiro, o padre). Já o Cangaceiro não é um bandido, mas o instrumento de que se utiliza a mão vingadora de Deus para punir os perversos. Cristo, que aparece na figura de um preto, forma também no traço popular, não pela cor, mas pelo que faz e diz. A presença da mediadora, a Compadecida, é novidade em relação ao teatro vicentino, uma volta ao modelo ibérico medieval. Ariano atualiza formas simples que vêm atravessando o tempo—se João Grilo teve um momento de fraqueza, ou o bispo, ou o padeiro, também o teve Cristo quando por aqui andou (cena do Jardim das Oliveiras).

1. Os textos ficcionais de Ariano Suassuna não são escritos em capítulos, mas em folhetos (folheto é o texto produzido pelo cantador nordestino). Em depoimento, o autor confessa que o material da ficção ele sentia não caber em peça de teatro.

Ao lado disso, a invasão do maravilhoso cristão, a ingenuidade, o espírito popular, o cômico a que nenhum espírito pode resistir. Intriga bem entabulada, soluções imprevistas às quais só poderia chegar a astúcia de João Grilo.

O Homem Usurpado de Dias Gomes

Os textos de Dias Gomes se encontram publicados em *Teatro Completo*, 2 vols, 1971: *O Pagador de Promessas, A Revolução dos Beatos, A Invasão, O Berço do Herói, O Santo Inquérito, Dr. Getúlio, Odorico Bem Amado.*

As criaturas de Dias Gomes—e esta talvez seja uma das maiores contribuições do escritor à dramaturgia brasileira—vivem o sentido lírico da alegria da existência. São seres cheios de natureza, de satisfação, de pássaros e sol, terra e água. Essa paz é quebrada por uma falha—a traição da linguagem, o erro de perspectiva, a colisão de mundos opostos. Assim se estabelece a tragédia e a evolução dos fatos não permite o retorno, pois à astúcia maliciosa do opressor, há o rebate puro do herói que redimensiona o sentido da paz e descobre, mesmo derrotado, a norte de uma vida. A fala do opressor destrói as defesas do herói, que não tem palavra às palavras, mas que conquista uma nova linguagem, mais profunda e humana. Os seres de Dias Gomes veiculam simplicidade e ternura, valores esses destruídos pela obstinada opressão de outros seres, instituições ou classes.

Donde vem a força da personagem? O autor consegue descobrir, como Graciliano Ramos no romance, ou João Cabral na poesia, a verdade do homem simples e primitivo. Zé do Burro (*Pagador de Promessas*) ou Branca Dias (*O Santo Inquérito*) não tomam resolução a partir de uma tese ou idéia, mas seguem um destino que se impuseram como dever. É preciso pagar a promessa ou empregar a palavra correta, eles não olham as conseqüências, por não saber vê-las, já que *pagar* ou *empregar* é a forma que eles têm de ser. Recuar é impossível, pois no seu repertório não há essa idéia, que exigiria manobras de que não são investidos.

Daqui se descobre o feroz humanismo de Dias Gomes, sua recusa às convenções e estereótipos, tipificados no tribunal da inquisição que enreda o indivíduo de tal modo que ele não se livra por força alguma.

No *Pagador de Promessas* subverte a religião formal e vazia, a reação hipócrita e falsa dos dignatários da Igreja cuja intolerância redunda em crime maior que o da vítima. No *Berço do Herói* a pequena cidade vivia em função do pracinha morto em luta gloriosa na Itália. De repente ele retorna: não havia morrido, mas fugido no momento do perigo. Torna-se o indesejado, pois toda a vida da cidade se construiu em função do seu feito. A gente de bem leva-o ao sacrifício num bordel (eis a malícia e hipocrisia contra o simples direito humano de ter medo). A base de *O Santo Inquérito* é a mesma: conversão dos valores.

Até que ponto, questionando o fundo ideológico das peças de Dias

Gomes, a realidade pode ser acomodada aos interesses de uma casta ou de um grupo socialmente dominante? Em que medida a violentação da consciência é uma forma de liberdade?

Outras Soluções

A obra de Gianfrancesco Guarnieri (*Gimba, Eles não Usam Black-tie, A Semente, O Filho do Cão, Arena Conta Zumbi* (com Augusto Boal e Edu Lobo), *Um Grito Parado no Ar, Me Dá o Mote*) vê a realidade brasileira, questiona, analisa, critica, mas sob outro enfoque: o morro, o favelado, a crise do operariado brasileiro, as contradições da greve, o jovem cuja preocupação é o dia de amanhã—pouco lhe importa a greve—, contra o pai, cujo ideal é mudar a ordem das coisas. No fundo uma visão utópica e lírica, mas com a importância de não produzir obra onde o morro é exótico, para estrangeiro e promoção turística.

Num caminho paralelo está Augusto Boal (*Liberdade, Liberade; Feira de Opinião; Arena Conta Tiradentes; Arena Conta Zumbi*—parceiros já indicados); *Revolução na América do Sul.*

O teatro brasileiro ainda deu alguns autores de boa qualidade, como Guilherme Figueiredo, que se utiliza com propriedade de temas clássicos e os mete nos dias atuais (*A Raposa e as Uvas; Um Deus Dormiu Lá em Casa; Anfitriões; Seis Peças de um Ato*). Pedro Cloch crious um monólogo vivo e palpitante—*As Mãos de Eurídice*, enquanto os jovens autores buscam a tragédia doméstica (Oduvaldo Viana Filho), a crônica da pequena cidade (Lauro César Muniz), o submundo cosmopolita (Plínio Marcos).

O teatro infantil encontrou em Maria Clara Machado (*Pluft, o Fantasminha*), o seu mais alto grau de perfeição. Do mesmo modo: Sílvia Ortoff (*A Viagem de um Barquinho*).

Vicente Ataíde
University of Minnesota

Entrevista a José Agustín*

por Susan C. Schaffer
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MESTER: En general los críticos tienden a no hacer caso de los escritores jóvenes. Los consideran inferiores. Sin embargo, es interesante que haya nacido últimamente en México una literatura escrita por jóvenes. En otros países este fenómeno no existe. ¿A qué se debe la aceptación del escritor joven en México?

JA: Yo tengo mis teorías por supuesto, porque es una cosa que me ha inquietado mucho. Inicialmente el rechazo hacia la literatura de los jóvenes era total. Cuando yo escribí *La tumba*, se la di a leer a Arreola y a Arreola le parecía que se debía publicar. Entonces, él la llevó a todas las editoriales importantes. Arreola es una figura que pesa. Un libro que él recomendaba, lo tomaban en cuenta. Pero nadie me lo quiso leer, nada más por mi edad. No era cosa de que si fuera bueno o malo; esto no se puede leer porque una persona de 19 años no puede publicar un libro. "Que se espere y luego le publicamos," era la idea corriente. Arreola, por suerte, es una persona que rompe con estos criterios y él editó el libro personalmente. Después, Joaquín Mortiz se abrió a la literatura juvenil. Publicó en 1965 dos libros de autores jóvenes: Gustavo Sainz y Salvador Elizondo. Los dos resultaron un éxito muy grande. Cambiaron el panorama de la literatura en México. El éxito de crítica y de ventas abrió otras editoriales a que publicaran otros libros de jóvenes. Entre ellos, le dio la idea a Emmanuel Carballo de la editorial Jiménez Silis de hacer una serie de autobiografías. Fueron un escándalo en aquella época porque eran autobiografías de gente menor de 35 años. En esa serie publicaron a todos los autores que estaban en el candelero: Juan García Ponce, Pedro Colina, Vicente Leñero, Tomás Mojarro, Marco Antonio, Sainz, Elizondo, etcétera. Yo me colé allí de pura casualidad. Después, con la publicación de mi libro y el de otro muchacho

*José Agustín, figura principal de la nueva generación de escritores jóvenes en México, inauguró su carrera literaria a los veinte años con la publicación de *La tumba* en 1965. Con esa novela se lanzó a la vida literaria de manera muy activa publicando, entre otras obras, *De perfil*, *Inventando que sueño*, *Abolición de la propiedad*, *Se está haciendo tarde (final en laguna)*, *La mirada en el centro* y *El rey se acerca a su templo*. Actualmente es profesor residente en la Universidad de Nuevo México en Albuquerque auspiciado por la fundación Fulbright. Sigue colaborando con los periódicos mexicanos *Uno más uno* y *Melodía*, *diez años después* a la vez de estar preparando su próxima novela, *Cerca del fuego*.

jovencito, Rafael Navarrete, ya se volvió una moda. A partir de allí, fue muy fácil. Las editoriales se abrieron a los jóvenes. De una manera u otra México se estaba preparando lo que iba a ser el movimiento estudiantil. Creo que México estaba en el borde de cambios muy necesarios y se estaba tomando conciencia. La gente adulta o la gente ya clavada en especialidades académicas no estaban capacitados para hacer el cambio. Solamente una corriente juvenil muy grande podía llegar a hacerlo. Eso es lo que significó '68 en México: romper de repente la idea que vivíamos de determinada manera y el inicio de una toma de conciencia. Creo que nuestros libros servían como precursores de todo esto. Venían a permitir que los jóvenes empezaran a salirse del medio. Al erguirse al rango literario, al hacer personajes literarios, cambiaba ya totalmente la fisonomía. Entre roc y literatura se vio mucho de esto. Yo me acuerdo en esa época como los muchachos dejaron de preocuparse por una serie de cosas que les preocupaban antes y en muchos se despertó el interés o por leer o por escribir. Otros también cambiaron a través del rocanrol o a través de la "jipería", que fue evidentemente un movimiento juvenil. Con todas estas cosas, inclusive la situación política, se generó una condición en México que permitió la salida de escritores jóvenes. Ahora, en los talleres literarios de los jóvenes, la efeverscencia no tiene paralelo. El problema se ha vuelto muy serio porque para la cantidad enorme de escritores no hay editoriales. Entonces, los muchachos mismos han tenido que organizar sus propias pagando sus propios libros, pero con material de calidad muy buena que es atendido por todos los críticos. Hay varias editoriales chiquitas: La máquina eléctrica, La máquina de escribir, Latitudes, y otras.

MESTER: Parece que la promoción de los libros escritos por jóvenes se dirige al lector adolescente. ¿Cuál es la función del lector adulto en todo esto? ¿Crees tú que los adultos leen estas novelas?

JA: Algunos sí, por supuesto. Tampoco se puede decir que todos los jóvenes están leyendo. Pero la clase media, por ejemplo, ha llegado a niveles muy curiosos. En su mayor parte han ido a los "best-sellers" norteamericanos, como Morris West, Jacqueline Suzanne. Pero, ya es ganancia porque antes no leían nada. De ahí muchos de ellos, o de sus hijos, agarran otros hábitos de lectura más interesante. Hay algunos "best-sellers" aquí en México que no son totalmente libros comerciales, como los de Luis Spota, Ricardo Garibay o Vicente Leñero. Otras gentes de la clase media se han habituado a una lectura muy respetable. Son los menos, sin duda. A fin de cuentas, yo creo que es el sector juvenil el que más está leyendo. Nadie ha hecho hasta este momento un mercadeo serio, una buena encuesta. Sería bien interesante. Creo que en México el problema que se tiene en este terreno es que no hay una política cultural. Se tiene que desarrollar una porque si no, es un desperdicio de energía y de talento.

MESTER: Se ha notado con frecuencia el uso del ritmo del roc en las novelas de la llamada "Generación de la Onda". ¿Puedes hablarnos un poco de la influencia de la letra de estas canciones en tus obras?

JA: Es que hay letras que son bellísimas. Yo diría que Bob Dylan está a la altura de los poetas más grandes que hay. Es un poeta enorme. Claro, es el máximo del roc. Nadie ha llegado a los niveles de Dylan; sus poemas son de una profundidad, de una complejidad, de una belleza y de una riqueza ináuditos. No se puede decir que la música del roc sea sin contenido. Lo que pasa es que hay dos tipos de roc. Por un lado, lo que es el roc vilmente comercial, música francamente enajenante que no persigue más que la venta. Hay otro tipo de roc, por otro lado, que busca la expresión y que da salida a necesidades expresivas verdaderas. Yo creo que ha llegado a niveles artísticos. Hay grupos, nuevos y viejos, que han dado mucho en ese terreno. Por ejemplo, ahorita pienso en ciertas letras de Donovan que las hubiera firmado Heráclito o algún filósofo griego. Son de una exactitud, de una complejidad filosófica tremenda. O cosas políticas, como toda la cosa subversiva que tenía el Jefferson Airplane, el Grateful Dead y Country Joe and the Fish. Están cuestionando toda la sociedad de principio a fin. O simplemente gente que tiene una alta capacidad lírica como Neil Young o David Crosby. Han dado cosas realmente muy hermosas No se les puede colocar ante el nivel poético porque no están buscando la fusión poética, pero con ellos tampoco se les puede colocar en la lírica popular. Es un producto mucho más sofisticado, más complejo. Esto requiere que se abra un nuevo tipo de forma para encajar este tipo de lírica. Mi amigo Parménides García Saldaña intentó algo semejante en su libro que se llama *Mediodía*. Trata de buscar la fusión entre la poesía y la lírica popular y el espíritu agresivo del roc. Aparte de esto, nosotros en la literatura del roc nos ha dejado más que nada el espíritu, un espíritu mordaz, renovador, que libere emocionalmente y al mismo tiempo enriquezca cultural y conscientemente. Buscamos lo experimental en todas las formas y la comunicación con los bajos estratos sin bajar el contenido. Las letras del roc en nuestra literatura las hemos usado como epígrafes. Sobre todo, en libros recientes, como el último que ganó el Premio Nacional del Cuento en México, que se llama *Ojalá estuvieras aquí* de Alberto Huerta. Es el título de uno de los discos de Pink Floyd, "Wish You Were Here". Tiene citas y epígrafes de todo tipo de canciones de roc, también. Ya se percibe muchísimo más como el roc está dejando una influencia.

MESTER: ¿Y a ti te sigue influyendo el roc?

JA: Sí, cómo no. En mi literatura hasta cierto punto he seguido una carrera rocanrolera. Me interesa mucho cotejar las evoluciones que yo he tenido con las evoluciones de esta gente que produce el roc. Sé que

los contextos son bien distintos. El mundo que tienen allá Uds. es diferente del que tenemos acá. Pero en esencia creativamente hay muchos puntos de contacto. Yo siento que ahora el roc está teniendo un apogeo o los inicios de una nueva posibilidad.

MESTER: ¿Piensas tú que la influencia del cine y la televisión está creando un nuevo tipo de literatura?

JA: No exactamente. Pero sí, es indudablemente que todas estas cosas están modificando con mucho la literatura. El cine, yo diría, ha influenciado mucho más y hay ciertos autores que sí, han sido influenciado por la televisión. Por ejemplo, Carlos Monsiváis se ha dedicado a estudiar la caja idiota durante mucho tiempo y es un experto en cuestiones de televisión. Recuerdo también la obra de Héctor Manjárrez. Él ha hecho cuentos en que la televisión ha tenido mucho que ver. En mi caso yo diría que no tanto. Yo creo que me ha influenciado mucho más el cine, pero más que el cine la música popular. Me ha dejado una huella muchísimo más profunda. O quizás la influencia que la televisión me ha dejado a mí es tan subliminal que no he alcanzado a percibirlo.

MESTER: ¿Qué pasa con el cine en México últimamente?

JA: Hay una regresión monstuosa. En la época de Echeverría hubo una apertura en el cine. Echeverría, muy oportunistamente, se apoyó en el cine. En especial, en la obra de Paul Leduc que se llama "Reed, México insurgente", para hacerse publicidad. Entonces, por las razones que fueran, el gobierno estuvo apoyando la producción de un cine muy decente. Pero entrando el nuevo gobierno desde hace tres años ya automáticamente se fueron al polo opuesto. Empezaron a producir películas de una vulgaridad increíble. Redujeron la producción a niveles verdaderamente alarmantes, porque es una industria y hay muchos trabajadores que están muriendo de hambre. Hacer cine decente ahorita es casi imposible. Solamente se encontró la fórmula haciendo cooperativas que funcionan como el cine experimental, nada más que al nivel del cine profesional. Como el gobierno no da ni un centavo para hacer nada de esto y los productores privados no quieren más que la vulgaridad más abyecta, entonces los muchachos se juntan y le invitan a la gente a que ponga pequeñas cantidades de dinero. Entonces las listas de productores son de doscientos a trescientos. Nadie cobra. Así se acaba de producir una película que ha sido exitosa, "Bandera rota". Si no se hace así de esta forma no hay ninguna posibilidad de que alguien la hubiera filmado aquí en México. En 1967 yo iba a dirigir una película, mi tercera profesional. La preparé y todo. Es una adaptación de mi novela *Se está haciendo tarde*. Nos costó mucho trabajo prepararla. Ya teníamos lista la fecha del rodaje y la personal contratada. Pero la censura la empezó a posponer y de plano no la dejaron hacer. Ni la prohibieron ni nada. Simplemente me avisaron que no se podía filmar en esa semana, que me esperara otra. A la siguiente semana les dije que yo no puedo

estar en la oficina sin hacer nada, me voy a mi casa y me hablan. Hasta la fecha estoy esperando que me llamen.

MESTER: ¿Cómo hiciste la adaptación de *Se está haciendo tarde?*

JA: Es bien interesante. Yo creo que es una buena adaptación. Por supuesto, es una película que quita mucho de la novela. El guión empieza con la llegada de Rafael a Acapulco. Llega a la casa de Virgilio, se van a Caleta y así sigue la historia. Lo que pasa es que prescinde de muchas líneas argumentales y se centra en lo más esencial. En realidad esta historia la concebí para el cine y no para una novela. Lo que iba a ser muy interesante era trabajar efectos especiales para toda la imaginería del final. Teníamos un artista que se encargaba de hacer máscaras y muñecos animados. Entonces, íbamos a hacer toda una serie de monstruos para representar las alucinaciones. Estudiamos muy a fondo el problema de los efectos especiales y queríamos hacer cosas bonitas. Ya habíamos hecho varias pruebas y todo se estaba saliendo bien. En gran medida, me fui feliz a Estados Unidos porque estaba hasta aquí de México. Me desilusionó mucho. Trabajar tanto y a última hora nos la paran.

MESTER: ¿Y no tienes esperanzas para el futuro?

JA: De esta película, ninguna. Llegando, me invitó a comer un productor de cine. Me dijo, "Traenos historias. Queremos filmar cosas tuyas. Pero olvídate de *Se está haciendo tarde*. No se puede hacerla en estos seis años." Miguel Litín, que es muy amigo mío, me recomendaba que me entrara a las cooperativas. Quizá cuando regrese de Nuevo México, de dar clases allá, sí me entre en todo esto. Yo tengo una espina clavada con el cine.

MESTER: Parece que ahora en México hay muy poco trabajo por parte de los escritores reconocidos en los suplementos culturales de los periódicos.

JA: Ahorita, los suplementos están muy de capa caída. El mejor suplemento es del *Uno más uno*.

MESTER: Antes escribiste en *El sol de México*, ¿verdad?

JA: Sí. Yo creo que en esa época era uno de los mejores suplementos, hasta '75 y '76. Me encantaba escribir allí porque me daban espacio libre. Pero el gran "elite" literario se fue a las revistas, a *Proceso* o a *Vuelta*. Un grupo se adueñó de *Plural*, la revista que dejó Octavio Paz. Es gente que estaba conectada con el partido cumunista. En los suplementos ahora, no hay nada. *El universal* ni tiene uno.

MESTER: ¿A qué se debe el rebajamiento en la calidad de los suplementos? ¿A la política de Echeverría, que tenía y aún tiene control de los periódicos?

JA: Se supone que Echeverría es dueño de *El sol* y de *El universal*. Corrieron al director de *El sol*, que se llamaba Wong. Era muy empren-

dedor; tenía un peruano dirigiendo el suplemento cultural. Pero después metieron al que había sido Ministro del Interior como director. Imagínate. Entraron criterios de verdadero *gestapo* allí. Un grupo muy numeroso de escritores tuvimos que renunciar del periódico. Esto fue por 1976. El periódico no era maravilloso, pero tenía una línea muy abierta. Hubo gente que decía cosas muy sensatas. Era un periódico muy legible. Y, de repente, en una semana un promedio de veinticinco artículos fueron rechazados. Y no se sabía de qué escribir. Entonces yo por mi parte dije, "Yo renuncio." Pero me hablaron por teléfono todos los demás para decirme que, "Estamos renunciando en masa. ¿No entras?" Pues, cómo no, para que la protesta se conozca más. *El universal* hace poco se quitó el suplemento cultural. Prometían que se lo iba a dar a Gustavo Sainz, lo cual les saldría muy bien. Y no se lo han dado. El suplemento de *Uno más uno* es el único que queda. Y Sainz, a través de *Literatura*, publica un suplemento que se regala en todas partes. Se llama "La semana de Bellas Artes" y se incluye gratis en varios periódicos todos los miércoles. Es lo que está cumpliendo la función de los demás suplementos. Gracias a la "Semana" el panorama no es tan tétrico. Pero hubo una época en que México tenía una verdadera época de oro de suplementos literarios.

MESTER: Los personajes de tu nueva novela *Cerca del fuego*, ¿son adolescentes?

JA: No, pues es una gente que tiene 33 años. Es otro mundo totalmente distinto. Este personaje pierde la memoria de repente. Un día está esperando un camión en la ciudad de México y siente como que todo le cambia por completo. Se da cuenta de que ya no recuerda lo que le acaba de pasar. Trata de ubicar lo último que recuerda y eso tuvo lugar hace seis años. Pero se siente increíblemente bien, como nunca se ha sentido, con un fluído ligerísimo, con una alegría, una paz y mucha energía. Entonces, empieza a ver la ciudad y ve que es otro mundo. Se va caminando, se sube a un camión y piensa en todo lo que le está pasando, maravillado de cómo se siente. Se pone a revisar lo que tiene en las bolsas. Ve que trae una cantidad bastante respetable de dinero y se acuerda de haber sido miserable toda su vida. Trae un anillo de casado y una foto en su cartera donde se ve una mujer y dos niños. Le produce una fascinación tremenda porque le entra la idea que puede estar casado y éstos pueden ser sus hijos. Para hacer la cosa más breve, decide hacer una búsqueda de gentes de su familia y al hacerla, recorre la ciudad de México. En seis años la ve diferentísima. La búsqueda de sí mismo y de su vida se liga con todo el problema de la ciudad y de México. Hay dos planos: el plano totalmente individual, esotérico, superinterno y, por otro lado, el problema social, lo político y lo económico. Hay una sección intermedia en la novela que es presentar la misma historia pero metafóricamente. Es un experimento que estoy llevando a cabo. Son como cien páginas. Todavía no sé si dejarla en el cuerpo de

la novela o sacarla y publicarla en otra parte. Pero no, yo creo que funciona dentro de la novela. A mí me entusiasma por el tono que encontré para esta parte. Creo que es muy justo para el libro.

MESTER: ¿Qué opinas tú de que los críticos insisten tanto en que las obras de la "onda" se han acabado?

JA: Yo creo que es una miopía muy grande de la crítica. Desde que yo publiqué *De perfil* sepultaban todo ese tipo de literatura y no le daban de vida en aquella época más que hasta 1970. Lo más grave de todo esto fue en el año de 1973 cuando le dieron el Premio de Villaurrutia a la novela de Federico Arana, *Las jiras*. Se la dieron porque decían que era el epitáfio a esa corriente de literatura. Yo no creo que la "onda" en sí, como corriente literaria, exista. Como Margo Glanz trataba de limitar los campos, la pobre sufría mucho. Nadie encajaba allí más que García Saldaña y yo en los campos que ella planteaba. No puede ser que exista una corriente literaria basada en la obra de dos escritores nada más. Es absurdo. Más bien lo que pasa es que se vio el hecho de que los jóvenes podían expresarse. Si uno quiere expresarse siendo muy joven hay dos posibilidades de hacerlo. Una es irse al mundo de la vieja cultura, como el caso del hijo de Julieta Campos, Emiliano González, ganador del Premio Villaurrutia. Es un muchacho de 20 o 21 años escribiendo una literatura basada en la gran tradición culterana. Es un tipo de literatura culta que, con buenas lecturas, la puede aprender cualquiera. La otra manera, que es la más sencilla quizás, es que la persona que tiene ganas de escribir algo escribe lo que ve. Es el caso de nosotros. Estamos narrando nuestro mundo. Si lo hace así una persona muy joven, inevitablemente caerá en ciertas cosas, ciertas maneras de expresión, ciertas atmósferas, cierta ingenuidad. Estos no son rasgos de corrientes literarias, son rasgos de gente que escribe a una determinada edad. Todo mundo cuando le dice que es parte de "la onda" se enoja. Nadie quiere admitir que está en la corriente de "la onda". Yo escribí un ensayo sobre eso diciendo que si se podía hablar de "onda", era en términos increíblemente amplios, como un espíritu de renovador, que busca el experimento en las formas artísticas. Solamente así la puedo concebir.

The Impact of Generative Grammar on Traditional Issues in Romance Philology

Before discussing the central issues on which these pages will concentrate, I shall make some general considerations regarding the aims of historical linguistics. In this way, it will be easy to isolate the major achievements made by the work which has been done within the generative approach. It will also help us to look into the pregenerative philological work in a more insightful manner.

Historical linguistics proposes to account for historical change. Although I shall limit myself here to historical phonology, I must point out that generative grammar is concerned with the complete grammar of a language. This is a crucial point for linguistic reconstruction, whether diachronic or synchronic.[1] The analysis of the data at each specific level —let us say at the phonological—brings into consideration significant questions regarding other grammatical levels. A good example of the relevance of this kind of interaction is provided by Selkirk's study on synchronic French, "French Liaison and the X Notation";[2] there, phonological evidence is provided in order to argue in favor of a certain syntactic structure.

The great philological studies of Romance languages which we have from the past did not consider the written material to be the reflection of a grammar in which the various components were interacting and producing that particular grammar. Therefore, they did not try to reconstruct the structure—the syntagmatic part of the grammar. They were mainly interested in the changes in the words—the paradigmatic part of the grammar. Even when they looked into syntactic and phonological changes, the lack of a sufficiently restricted theory led them to simply list changes, mixing relevant and irrelevant information.

Another set of problems has arisen in the account which philologists have made of the Romance languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, specifically Spanish and Portuguese. Without a precise notion of the markedness of the sounds, philologists have postulated the spreading of some very marked sounds when, in fact, the history of Spanish can be accounted for without this spreading.[3] For example, Pidal's thesis on the priority of Castilian (the Spanish spoken in the area of Burgos around the 15th century) over Spanish (the Spanish spoken in the area of Toledo around the same time), relies upon this kind of fact. Specifically, it seems implausible that the apicalization that characterizes the Castilian s (/ś/) was ever part of the system of non-Castilian Spanish.[4] In order to explain why this is so, I must introduce another inherent assumption of generative phonology: rule ordering.

Rule ordering is particularly relevant to the reconstruction of historical change. Phonological rules operate upon structures created by other phonological rules. Therefore, in order to recover the lost structure, one must determine the order in which rules apply. The handling of rule ordering has proved to be one of the keys toward the understanding of the development of Romance languages. Since Latin is the common ancestor of all these languages, evidence available in any Romance language at a particular stage is extremely helpful in tracing earlier stages of these languages. For example, Otero makes use of contemporary French to establish the relative order in which the processes of diphthongization and reduction of geminate consonant clusters have occurred in Romance.[5] He notes that French, but not Italian, has simplified identical double consonants. Furthermore, he finds that the words which have geminates in Italian do not have French counterparts with a diphthong (from *mele*, French *miel*). Otero correctly concludes that the diphthongization occurred *before* simplification of geminate consonants.

This result demonstrates to what extent a systematic approach can guide the investigation of linguistic change. Of course, not all the changes are necessarily present in the grammar. On the one hand, one is dealing with written texts, whereas, on the other, a particular change can lack the link that joins two different processes. For example, by looking at the history of the internal grammar of Spanish in isolation, as most of the philologists working in the pre-generative period did, one could never have reached the chronological order to that series of changes. Comparative reconstruction turns out to be an integral part of the process of reconstruction in historical linguistics.

A generative approach to historical linguistics also tells us what sort of change it is plausible to expect, if not reflected in the texts. When confronted with several stages of certain phonological changes, one can determine, by working within a proper theory, which change is the result of a natural evolution—an innovation with respect to the older form—and which is an archaism. This must be kept in mind when dealing with the philological work that we have inherited from the past. For instance, Sephardic Spanish lacks several phonological changes which we find in Castilian from the very beginning and in meridional Spanish much later (also, in late Gallegan). At the same time, Sephardic seems to have undergone certain phonological processes that are found neither in Spanish nor in Castilian.

It is the phonological nature of each series of changes that determines the archaic or progressive character of a language. In the case of Sephardic Spanish, contrary to what has been claimed in the past, the phonological system seems to indicate that the language has reached a more developed stage in its evolution than, for example, the Castilian dialect. Thus, Sephardic Spanish lacks several phonological processes that crucially characterize Castilian: apicalization of *s*, devoicing of sibilants, velarization of the palatal-alveolar-fricative *š*, etc.[6] On the other hand, the raising of the final vowels (in this position, reducing the vocalic

system to three more universal vowels *a/i/u*), and several other characteristics that tend to open syllables (the optimum structure of the syllable, according to Jakobson) that characterize Sephardic Spanish would confirm the indicated phonological direction of the system.

Let us return to the question of the Castilian apical *s*. A discussion of the spreading/non-spreading of apical *s* will demonstrate how phonological theory can help us postulate simple and plausible hypotheses.

Although *s* is one of the basic consonants of the system of obstruents and is marked only with respect to one feature, apical *s* is a relatively odd, marked sound within the phonological system of Romance languages. It is found in the system of Basque, however, and, given the proximity between the Basque and Castilian territories, it can be inferred that Castilian adopted it under Basque influence.[7] Once apical *s* was incorporated into Castilian, the system of sibilants of this dialect possessed three very close elements: common *s*, apical *s* /ś/, and the palatal-alveolar *s* /s̄/. That the new group should redistribute its elements in a different way is not surprising considering the difficulty in maintaining a distinction in the pronunciation of these three sounds and, similarly, the difficulty in their perception. In phonological terms, then, one can say that the output of the rule that introduced the apicality in the Castilian *s* contributed decisively to the later process which separates these three sibilants into the velar *j* /x/, on the one hand, and the interdental /θ/ and the apical *s* /ś/ on the other.

Given the history of the derivation just described, it is not plausible to start with the claim that apical *s* has spread over the rest of the Spanish speaking areas of the Peninsula, as Amado Alonso does.[8] As we have said before, Sephardic Spanish lacks apical *s* and the later related processes that give rise to /θ/ and /x/ in the system. By having known the phonological changes that the incorporation of a certain rule may introduce into the phonological system of a language, misleading issues such as the spreading of Castilian apical *s* could have been avoided.

Another of the important contributions of the generative approach to the history of the Romance languages spoken in the Peninsula (Spanish and Portuguese, in particular) is the relation between ordered rules, a relation that is fundamental to the investigation of the relative chronology of a series of changes within a given language.

In the history of Spanish and Portuguese, certain words have undergone a process by which a final vowel *e* has been lost in certain phonological environments. We shall refer to this as the rule of 'apocope.'

As often happens in the investigation of historical grammar, data with respect to specific changes at first seem contradictory. We look for phonological changes expecting to find regularity, but sometimes this regularity is hidden because it is difficult to fix the exact environment in which the process has taken place. This is precisely the case with the rule of 'apocope.'[9] We observe that contemporary Portuguese and Gallegan have words where a final *e* has not been dropped, in contrast

to the corresponding word in Spanish. Cases of this sort are 'lealtade', 'realidade', 'parede', (Portuguese and Gallegan), versus Spanish 'lealtad', 'realidad', 'pared'. On the other hand, Gallegan and Portuguese, together with Spanish, have no final *e* in words like 'sin' and 'compartir'.

At this point, it is useful to note that several processes may affect the same words, in which case, determining the particular order in which they have appeared is crucial. For instance, in earlier Spanish there was a rule that voiced obstruents in the context of a preceding vowel and a following sonorant: from Latin 'delikatu', Spanish 'delgado'. An earlier process, however, had occurred in the language—the dropping of an internal vowel in a certain environment. Consequently, the forms to which this later process applied would never have served as inputs to the later voicing rule: from Latin 'solitariu', Spanish 'soltero'. In other words, the rule that changed Latin 'solitariu' to Spanish 'soltero' *bled* the rule which voiced intervocalic obstruents.

This type of relationship between rules has received a lot of attention in the framework of generative phonology because it significantly contributes to the traditional problem of dating different changes.[10]

A similar type of relation, *feeding order*, is found between many other rules. Bleeding, as well as feeding relationships are considered unmarked, as opposed to the marked orders of counterfeeding and counterbleeding.[11] This means, among other things, that we can expect to find these orderings quite frequently applying in languages.

These notions have been very useful in clarifying problematic derivations in the history of Romance. For example, some Portuguese words have derived a voiced intervocalic consonant in cases in which, apparently, the environment of the rule discussed earlier was not met. Actually, the Spanish reflexes of those words have instead a voiceless intervocalic obstruent: Portuguese 'saiba'/Spanish 'sapia'.[12] By examining the history of these forms, the problem can be resolved with a simple reordering in the application of two rules. Otero proposes that the rule which in Spanish preposed a semi-vowel (from *sapia* to *saipa*) occurred after the voicing of the obstruent. In this way, the form 'sapia' meets the environment of the voicing rule, giving rise to the actual form 'sabia'. In technical terms, then, we may say that the rule which changed the position of semi-vowels bleeds the rule of voicing.

Another important discovery has shed light on a question that arises concerning the conversion of intervocalic voiceless obstruents into voiced ones. This discovery certainly occupies a central position in the work of traditional philology.

Apparently contradictory data in the derivation of Latin words with *ti*, such as *potium / rationem* led some philologists to the conclusion that this sequence always had a voiceless reflex in Spanish.[13] However, words like Spanish 'razón' show that this is not correct. It seems that a 'bleeding relation' between two rules has given rise to two different results in Spanish from a common Latin sequence.[14] Otero claims that

words like *rationem* have not undergone the process which would have produced geminate consonants in a certain environment, as words like *potium* or *ericium* have. The application of the rules would crucially depend on the position of the stress. Thus, the rule that changes intervocalic voiceless obstruents into voiced ones could not apply to those words which have geminate consonants. Now, both Spanish 'razón' and 'pozo' or 'erizo' can be derived in a natural way.

Once again, the tools that a generative approach provides have permitted us to establish the links among different rules and to finally obtain an acceptable result.

Turning our attention back to the corpus of data regarding 'apocope', we find that it is necessary to write the rule so that it will correctly derive 'lealtade' and, at the same time, 'compartir'. Again, the framework of generative grammar offers a solution to this intricate problem. In generative phonology, rules operate upon structures created by other rules. Therefore, if a language lacks a rule that appears in a sister language, the application of later related rules will give different results in the two languages.

This is precisely the situation which seems to be involved in the dropping of final *e* (apocope) in certain Spanish and Portuguese words. Spanish, but not Portuguese, would have undergone 'spirantization'. The formulation of the rule of 'apocope' should consequently include the feature 'fricative', which, in fact, is the output of the 'spirantization' rule. Thus, by ordering 'apocope' and 'spirantization' in a feeding relation, one would correctly obtain the Spanish reflexes 'mar', 'mes', and 'bondad' (and 'pez') and the Portuguese 'amar', 'mes'—*but* 'bondade'.[15]

Two conceptual tools have proved to be crucially involved in the treatment of this issue: derivative application of phonological rules and rule ordering. As one can see, this type of reconstruction is unlikely to be made in a pre-generative approach. Amado Alonso has done an enormous amount of work and still has left the matter at a rather undeveloped stage. Naturally, this is not to say that a *restricted* theory of grammar inevitably leads one to great discoveries; there is, of course, considerable variety among the works conducted within the framework of generative grammar.[16] The reverse, however, is true, for without a *restricted* theory of grammar, it is unusual to go beyond observational adequacy.

The previously discussed formulation of 'apocope' has immediate repercussions for the chronology of the 'spirantization' rule. Tracing the relation between these two rules, one is led to argue that if 'apocope' applies after 'spirantization', and we find evidence of 'apocope' in early texts ('dolor', 'nol', 'sin', for example, in the 12th century *Mio Cid*), we know that 'spirantization' cannot have taken place at the time in which, presumably, a later rule such as 'denasalization' was occurring in Gallegan.[17]

There are a few more observations to be made regarding the ordering relation between 'apocope' and the rule which eliminates intervocalic

l in Portuguese. Looking at Portuguese pairs such as 'facil'/'faceis', we observe that while the singular form has preserved the final *l*, its plural form has not. Therefore, one can rely upon this type of data to conclude that 'apocope' took place before intervocalic *l* was dropped by the corresponding rule.

Yet because rules interact with one another, this conclusion also has consequences for another important change that occurred in Portuguese —intervocalic nasalization. According to Otero's well-founded argumentation, the rule that nasalized vowels in Portuguese has to occur before 'apocope'; evidence of this can be found in words like Portuguese 'nome', instead of 'nomen'. Since nasalization must precede 'apocope', and since we have already seen that 'apocope' precedes the rule that deletes intervocalic *l*, we can conclude that 'nasalization' must precede the rule that drops intervocalic *l*.

This is, admittedly, an extremely sketchy account; other major discoveries in the history of the Romance languages have been made within the generative approach (rules to derive phonological processes in Provenzal, the Romance stress system and the Romance vocalic system to name a few).

Since our current state of knowledge of historical grammar is by no means complete, it is time to take advantage of the rigorous philological work found in our tradition and to restate, and answer, if possible, the hundreds of questions posed by past grammars of the Romance languages. The works discussed here are among those that have opened the way.

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NOTES

1. See David W. Lighfoot, *Principles of Diachronic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) for a systematic account of syntactic change. This study also serves as a guide to historical linguistics in general and offers much about the theory of generative grammar.

2. Elisabeth Selkirk: "French Liaison and the $\bar{X}$ Notation", *Linguistic Inquiry* 5 (1974), 573-90.

3. On the notion of markedness, see Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, *The Sound Patterns of English* (New York: Harper, 1968). Also, James Harris: "Sound Change in Spanish and the Theory of Markedness", *Language* 45 (1969), 538-52.

4. See Carlos Otero: *Evolución y revolución en romance* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1971) and Carlos Otero: *Evolución y revolución en romance II* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1976) for the presentation and discussion of this issue. The reader is also referred to J. Harris: *Spanish Phonology* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969). The Spanish translation *Fonologia generativa del español* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1973, trad. de A. Verde) contains an important Appendix not found in the English version of the book.

5. See Carlos Otero: *Evolución II, cit.*

6. I am following C. Otero's *Evolución I* and *II, cit.*

7. See Ramón Menéndez Pidal: *En torno a la lengua vasca* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1962), p. 61. In this work, Menéndez Pidal gives an overview of the influence of Basque on Spanish -i.e. Castilian. Otero in *Evolución I* and *II* elaborates extensively on this point. Basing his argumentation on linguistic grounds, he shows the various implications of the Basque influence on the history of Spanish in general. This is a very important issue in Otero's book, and the reader is advised to examine the relevant passages concerning this question in *Evolución*.

8. See Amado Alonso: *De la pronunciación medieval a la moderna en español* (Madrid: Gredos, 1955) and Menéndez Pidal: *Orígenes del español.* Estadio lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1950).

9. A thorough account of this issue is found in Rafael Lapesa: "La apócope de la vocal en castellano antigüo. Intento de explicación histórica", in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, tomo II, C.S.I.C., Madrid (1951), 185-226.

10. See Noam Chomsky: "Some General Properties of Phonological Rules", *Language* 43 (1967), 101-28; also, N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The Sound Patterns of English, cit.*, and Stephen R. Anderson: *The Organization of Phonology* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

11. Feeding and bleeding relations are defined in Paul Kiparsky: "Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change" in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. by E. Bach and R. Harms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 171-202.

12. I am following C. Otero: *Evolución II, cit.*

13. See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1904).

14. See C. Otero: *Evolución II, cit.*

15. See J. Harris: "Evidence from Portuguese for the 'Elsewhere Condition' in Phonology", *Linguistic Inquiry* 5 (1974), 61-80. Also, see Otero's tentative approach to the problem in *Evolución I, cit.*

16. One can judge for oneself by examining the several works dealing with historical linguistics within a generative approach.

17. I take the argumentation of this issue from C. Otero: *Evolución I* and *II, cit.*

18. I am much indebted to Diana Platt for stimulating discussions of some of the issues presented here and for her valuable comments on a draft of these pages. Judith Mc A'Nulty made several suggestions regarding the distribution of the content when she read the first draft.

Arquetipos y mitos en *¡Ecué—yamba—ó!* de Alejo Carpentier

¡Ecué—yamba—ó!, la primera novela de Alejo Carpentier, publicada en España en 1933, constituye una pieza fundamental en el complejo orden novelístico del escritor cubano y un curioso antecedente de su visión arquetípica del hombre americano desarrollada con mayor profundidad en las novelas posteriores. En *¡Ecué—yamba—ó!* Carpentier sitúa a sus personajes en un mundo supuestamente real; pero no pretende reflejar tan solo la realidad cubana, como la crítica sociológica querría verlo, sino plantear también en un nivel más universal los caracteres de la conducta genérica del hombre. Esa doble finalidad—realista y simbólica—configura al fin de cuentas el ambivalente carácter de todo héroe arquetípico, según la acertada definición de Hernán Vidal. Para Vidal, los héroes de este tipo son no sólo representativos de las clases sociales en épocas determinadas, "sino que también sirven de abstracción de actitudes humanas válidas y operantes en toda época y lugar."[1]

En su ensayo "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious",[2] Jung nos proporciona una clasificación de los arquetipos más frecuentes que yo usaré en relación con el arquetipo fundamental del héroe. Creo que este acercamiento crítico a Carpentier me permitirá una mayor comprensión de su primera novela y de ciertas técnicas repetidas en las obras de mayor madurez.

Concentraré mi estudio en el análisis del protagonista; pero antes me parece conveniente recordar los momentos claves de la figura del héroe como arquetipo. En la composición de todo héroe existen ciertos elementos estructurales que forman un esquema común aplicable no sólo a los héroes de ficción sino también, como afirma Jung, a los seres reales que viven en la conciencia de un país como paradigmas de heroicidad. La vida de un héroe militar o político, la de los personajes de fuerza sobrehumana que protagonizan las tiras cómicas o las acciones cinematográficas destinadas al consumo más popular o a los niños, así como la de las creaciones literarias en las ficcionas de mayor nivel, repiten esos rasgos o motivos fundamentales. Los momentos principales de la vida del héroe son los siguientes: *Nacimiento*, por lo general en un hogar humilde donde la falta de protección familiar convierte en un acto heroico el simple esfuerzo de crecer. *La concesión de dones o atributos especiales*, efectuada tradicionalmente por dioses o por seres sobrenaturales que otorgan al héroe la gracia que facilitará su acción. En la mitología griega, conceden esos dones dioses particulares de cuya protección

constante gozan los héroes; en el cuento folklórico actúan con el mismo sentido las hadas madrinas o brujos y hechiceros. El romanticismo interioriza de algún modo esas figuras (recordar la interpretación de Ronald Barthes de *La bruja* de Michelet). Con el naturalismo, el mito se desplaza aún más y los dones del héroe (su inteligencia, su fuerza, su valor) no derivan de la generosidad de otros sino del *medio ambiente* o de la *herencia* que determinan rigurosamente la conducta humana. *La salida al mundo*, que concuerda con algún tipo de *iniciación*. En la experiencia genérica del hombre coincide con la separación psicológica del padre y de la madre. Suelen darse como ejemplos del ritual la ceremonia de la circunscisión en tribus primitivas o el matrimonio que en última instancia significa el reconocimiento del sexo. La *iniciación* reafirma en el héroe ciertos valores humanos inherentes a su personalidad ya sea por dones especiales o por determinados rasgos de carácter. *Lucha con fuerzas antagónicas*, sean demonios, gigantes o villanos, que representan de algún modo los elementos negativos no sólo de orden externo sino también interno contra quienes lucha la personalidad heroica para imponerse. *Triunfo o fracaso del héroe*, como resultado de la lucha anterior; el héroe asciende al poder o se casa con el ser deseado y por consiguiente triunfa; o en un orden de sentido contrario se sacrifica y muere. Sacrificio y muerte que son también, de algún modo, un triunfo personal, pues tras el acaecer de la muerte se recupera la armonía perdida o se imponen los valores deseados.

El *esquema arquetípico* de la vida del héroe es aceptado a nivel inconsciente por un universo más o menos extendido de seres humanos porque en su último análisis reproduce la trayectoria del desarrollo interno y externo de la personalidad, siempre heroica aún en la experiencia más humilde puesto que el crecer supone en cierto modo vencer las fuerzas adversas de la vida.

El héroe aparece a su vez interrelacionado con otros arquetipos tales como el *ánima* o *ánimus* (*ánima* en el caso de los héroes de Carpentier por ser éstos varones); el *scapegoat* o *chivo expiatorio* que en muchos casos es el héroe mismo en el momento del sacrificio; las *metamorfosis* o *transformaciones* que pueden ser físicas o espirituales. Como la salida del héroe sólo se justifica por la consecución de un objeto, el *tema de la búsqueda*, tan característico de Carpentier, resulta inherente a todo héroe; más aún, es el motor que impulsa desde la infancia el desarrollo de la personalidad psicológica del hombre. Trataré más detenidamente estos aspectos a medida que aparezcan en la obra estudiada.

Las tres partes en que se divide *¡Ecué -yamba—ó!*, intituladas *Infancia*, *Adolescencia* y *Ciudad* corresponden a las tres etapas fundamentales de la vida del protagonista y compendian los diferentes momentos del héroe paradigmático. Los primeros dos capítulos, denominados *Paisaje (a)* y *Paisaje (b)*, nos sitúan de inmediato en Cuba, con su central azucarero, sus bohíos, su batey y personajes pintorescos de origen afrocubano en cuyas vidas se asocian la realidad cruel y la sobrenaturalidad

de la magia y de los ritos. En el tercer capítulo, titulado *Natividad*, nos encontramos con el *nacimiento del héroe*, Menegildo. Nada hay en ese nacimiento de sobrenaturalidad. Se trata de un ambiente real, de un hogar humilde y de un acto tan natural como la generación de una planta. El capítulo *Iniciación (a)* pinta la integración del niño con el mundo que lo rodea. Esa integración es dolorosa y aunque el héroe no reciba dones sobrehumanos, debe aprender con el esfuerzo y con el dolor, como un héroe naturalista, el modo de enfrentarse con la vida. Como ocurre con otros héroes folklóricos, el personaje de la novela se somete a *pruebas* de resistencia física y moral, cuyas variantes analiza V. Propp en su conocido estudio sobre la estructura del relato folklórico. Los animales dañan a Menegildo y actúan en cierto modo como los *donantes* de los cuentos populares que luchan con el niño o lo engañan para fortalecerlo:

> "Menegildo sentía, palpaba, golpeaba, al lanzar su primera ojeada sobre el universo . . . Es grato llenarse la boca de tierra. Pero la saliva no derretirá nunca la estrella fría de una espuela . . . ; más allá un lechón lo empujó con el hocico. Los perros lo lamieron acorralándolo debajo de un fogón ruinoso. Una gallina enfurecida le arañó el vientre. Las hormigas bravas le encendieron las nalgas. Menegildo chilló . . ."

A pesar de la pretensión casi naturalista de crear un ambiente real de desamparo y de crudeza, el comportamiento extrañamente malévolo de esos animales, que simbolizan fuerzas de la tierra, genera una atmósfera de sobrenaturalidad mágica.

El resto de la primera parte completa la descripción ambiental y desarrolla, sobre todo, el elemento determinante de la herencia: la sangre africana de Menegildo contribuirá de algún modo a marcar el derrotero de su vida. Así, la herencia y el medio ambiente ocupan el lugar del *donante*, en un claro proceso de lo que Northrop Frye llama un *mito desplazado*. El don o la gracia especial que esa situación confiere a Menegildo consiste en su poder de integrarse al mundo de los espíritus, de *coger el muerto* según la expresión idiomática cubana, mediante el ritual afrocubano de la danza, que permite al héroe pertenecer al mundo misterioso de los *ñáñigos* o *hechiceros:* "Era cierto que Menegildo no sabía leer, ignorando hasta el arte de firmar con una cruz. Pero en cambio era ya docto en el gesto y cadencia. El sentido del negro latía en su sangre." (pág. 33)

La segunda parte del libro, tal como lo sugiere el título *Adolescencia*, concuerda con la segunda etapa de la vida del héroe, el paso de la niñez a la pubertad. En *La ciudad* el héroe está ya en plena madurez. Cada una de esas etapas comienza también con el proceso de iniciación. Si *Iniciación (a)* constituyó la entrada en el mundo, *Iniciación (b)* determinará la importancia de la aceptación del sexo y por consiguiente la afirmación de la hombría. A partir del primer contacto sexual, comienza la transformación espiritual de Menegildo que se completa en la cárcel.

Lo han llevado allí su pasión y su rabia; movido por sentimientos de celos hiere con su cuchillo al amante de su enamorada, de Longina. El héroe comienza entonces a luchar contra las fuerzas adversas representadas en este caso por un *villano*, negro también pero de Haití, con quien cambia golpes y a quien apuñala. El triunfo sobre el adversario confirma la hombría de Menegildo: el capítulo final de esa parte se titula precisamente *Macho*. Con él se cierra el ciclo de la adolescencia.

En *La ciudad*, Menegildo comienza una nueva vida tras una tercera iniciación. En este caso, se trata de un claro ritual simbólico de carácter africano. Menegildo ingresa a la secta de los *ñáñigos*. El mismo Carpentier aclara en el *Glosario* de la obra los alcances del término:

> "Ñáñigo. De *ñañiguismo*. Asociaciones secretas de protección mutua traídas a Cuba por los esclavos negros, y que subsisten aún, algo transformadas, en algunas poblaciones de la isla. Sus adeptos pertenecen a las castas inferiores de la población de color de Cuba, aunque suelen contarse entre ellos algunos chinos y blancos. Se ha dicho por error que los *ñañigos* practican la brujería, llegándoseles a imputar la perpetración de sacrificios humanos. Pues si bien sus afiliados pueden librarse aisladamente a prácticas mágicas, la hechicería, propiamente dicha, no forma parte del ritual. En sus reuniones, los ñáñigos observan un ceremonial pintoresco y complicado, que incluye cantos, danzas y percusiones de una gran belleza . . . Esta secta constituye, en suma, una suerte de masonería popular, dotada de una religión panteísta y abstracta, que mezcla el culto de Eribó —"gran fuerza que lo anima todo"—a la veneración de los antepasados." (págs. 233-234)

El autor utiliza sus conocimientos etnográficos para describir la iniciación ritual de Menegildo, entre *demonios*, disfraces, sacrificio de un animal (un gallo), señalamientos con marcas de sangre, etc. Con su ingreso a la secta, Menegildo llega a su período de auge y comienza a destacarse del ambiente: "Menegildo se había vuelto personaje en el solar. Medio Pilatos, medio actor, se daba buena vida con el peso ganado diariamente en la barraca de los suplicios" (pág. 303).

En su estudio sobre el héroe folklórico, Propp enumera muchos momentos en que éste debe probar sus poderes en nuevas contiendas. También Menegildo inicia ahora una nueva lucha contra fuerzas adversas representadas esta vez por negros de las sectas contrarias. En esta nueva lucha, el héroe fracasa. Menegildo resulta asesinado durante una Nochebuena. Pero la historia de Menegildo no concluye con su muerte: su hijo nace en el mismo bohío, bajo idénticas circunstancias y se llama también Menegildo Cué. El ciclo se reinicia: la vida del negro afrocubano repite continuadamente un esquema similar en el que el heroico intento de superar el determinismo del ambiente con el ejercicio de los valores humanos fracasa una y otra vez.

Menegildo, observado por el autor desde la perspectiva de la colectividad que lo origina y mitifica, adquiere la caracterización de un héroe

mítico representante de los valores esenciales de su pueblo; resulta el símbolo de una cultura mezcla de *vudú* y de cristianismo, de sabiduría vital y de ignorancia, de una raza ni africana ni europea y al mismo tiempo síntesis de las dos. De ahí que Fernando Alegría considere al héroe "producto característico de la tradición africana que mantienen viva sus antepasados. Menegildo Cué el héroe, representa en su pasión y muerte el destino de una raza: Menegildo va de la exaltación a la derrota, del juego aspaventoso de puñales, sones y guitarras, al abismo iluminado de los mitos que consagra desangrándose."[4]

Junto al arquetipo del héroe, aparecen en la novela otros elementos de carácter mítico, siempre mediatizados por la intención realista. No hay transformaciones o metamorfosis, aunque en las ceremonias, los extremos del ritual y de la danza confieren al personaje caracteres *mediúmicos* que le permiten comunicarse con el mundo de sus antepasados y de las fuerzas ocultas. Los disfraces son también remanentes de transformaciones. Pero los cambios fundamentales se producen en el plano interior, en lo psicológico. No tienen tanta importancia estos elementos sueltos como el advertir que todos ellos quedan fundidos en un tema central que pasa por el esquema simbólico general de la obra. Toda transformación, externa o interior, es un paso más en la consecución del objeto, en la búsqueda de algo: "It should be mentioned that the initiation archetype combines occasionally with that of transformation (spiritual) and with that of the Search."[5] Cada iniciación de Menegildo constituye un cambio espiritual y un acercamiento al fin buscado. Su encuentro con Longina es el logro de la afirmación de su masculinidad, con el cambio psicológico que ello supone; la iniciación ritual en el mundo *ñáñigo* implica un cambio más profundo: Menegildo se integra ahora con las esencias de su raza, mediante un modo de comunión con sus antepasados. El tema unificador es ya la *búsqueda de los orígenes* mejor denominado luego por Carpentier *Viaje a la semilla*. La búsqueda es tema arquetípico en la medida en que constituye una actitud característica del espíritu humano.

El recuerdo de Odiseo, viajero siempre en busca de la esencialidad humana, aparece constantemente en la literatura moderna vinculado a ese tema genérico. También Carpentier, tan consciente de la herencia cultural europea, utiliza al héroe clásico como símbolo del viaje a la esencia. La búsqueda de los orígenes, tema central de la novelística de Carpentier, encierra un anhelo de identidad auténtica, no solo a nivel psicológico sino también histórico. Hispanoamérica sólo podrá afirmarse con el reconocimiento de sus verdaderas raíces ancestrales.

Me parece claro advertir, vinculado con el tema de la búsqueda, otra figuración arquetípica: *the mother search*, que se asocia con el arquetipo del *ánima*. Jung define el *ánima* como "the psyche representation of the minority of females genes in a man's body." (pág. 34) Las dos fuentes psicológicas que influyen en este arquetipo son para Jung la experiencia que el niño adquiere de su propia madre y la idea culturalmente heredada sobre el papel de la mujer.

Como es propio de todo arquetipo la posibilidad de un caracter dual, el *ánima* puede presentar dos tipos contradictorios en la visión de la mujer: el tipo positivo, idealizado, en que la mujer representa protección, calor, ternura, tranquilidad, bondad. Pertenecen a este tipo las princesas ideales, las hadas, y la *madre tierra* en lo que la naturaleza tiene de protector y de nutricio. El antecedente clásico de la *madre tierra* es Gea, cuya bondad y carácter nutricio se simbolizan en su figuración de vaca o de novilla. Se asocian con la naturaleza, en este caso, todas las imágenes que Northrop Frye enumera como paradisíacas. La visión demoníaca, o negativa, del *ánima* corresponde en cambio a los elementos destructores de la naturaleza. En los mitos y en los cuentos donde esos mitos se desplazan están representados por las furias clásicas, las parcas, la Medusa, las ondinas, las brujas. En un nivel de mayor desplazamiento, por la *femme fatale* de las historias realistas. Todas tienen poder de destrucción de los valores positivos del hombre tanto físicos como psicológicos: castran su virilidad, debilitan su fuerza, aniquilan su voluntad, lo semeten a un maléfico dominio.

En *¡Ecué—yamba—ó!* dos mujeres rodean al héroe: su madre, Salomé, y su amante. Salomé aparece caracterizada desde los primeros capítulos como símbolo de la fecundidad y se identifica como *madre tierra*. Longina también pertenece al tipo positivo del *ánima* aunque en sus primeras apariciones muestra ciertos elementos de mujer fatal: es ella la que causa los celos de Menegildo, su riña con el rival, su encarcelamiento, su ida a la ciudad y su muerte. Pero en la medida en el Longina será madre del hijo de Menegildo, se convierte también en *madre tierra*, al igual que Salomé. Fernando Alegría ve al personaje como un antecedente de Rosario, la *madre tierra* de *Los pasos perdidos*.

Una consideración final. En la novela, Carpentier plantea la oposición entre la vida de campo y la vida de la ciudad. Según la distinción de Frye entre el mundo paradisíaco o apocalíptico, que coincide con el Paraíso religioso en el sentido en que todas las formas humanas, animales, vegetables y minerales se expresan a un nivel de idealización o de deseo, el campo en Carpentier pertenece a ese género de imaginería. El central San Lucio, en la primera parte de la novela, se describe en medio de "un ancho valle orlado por una cresta de colinas azules." El cañaveral, los bohíos, la tierra cálida, las palmeras quietas y un sol "tan grande que llenaba todo el cielo", enmarcan la vida del campesino, dura pero sana y tranquila. En ese ambiente nace Menegildo y allí transcurre su infancia. Frente al campo, la ciudad opone en cambio la imaginería contraria, el mundo no deseado o temido, el infierno. Todo parece allí caótico, confuso. Los sonidos se tornan estridentes: aparatos de radio, ruidos de botellas entrechocadas en el bar. Seres degradados pululan por todas partes: marineros borrachos, "prostitutas ajadas, miserables", hombres sin trabajo que imploran limosna en los bancos, bajo los soportales, a la sombra de los quicios; todos ellos embrutecidos por la miseria y los excesos de la carne y del alcohol. Mundo demoníaco en fin; mundo de corrupción.

Toda la novela puede reducirse a un juego de oposicioines: campo frente a ciudad, lo ordenado frente a lo caótico, la fecundidad frente a lo infecundo, lo vital frente a la muerte. Hay también oposiciones en el nivel del tiempo humano: la infancia y la juventud frente a la madurez. En la primera etapa se evidencian valores positivos: ingenuidad, autenticidad, primitivismo. Con la madurez llega la corrupción. Ya se ve en la novela el germen de *Los pasos perdidos*, donde la oposición entre el mundo primitivo de la selva y la civilización corruptora adquiere máxima violencia. En esa oposición, el retorno a los arquetipos fundamentales adquiere su total significado: es la búsqueda de una armonía primaria que el hombre ha perdido, al parecer de modo constante e irreparable.

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NOTAS

1. "Arquetipificación e historicidad en Guerra del Tiempo", en *Nueva Narrativa Hispanoamericana*, III, 2, sept. 1973, pág. 246.
2. Cito por *The Collected Works*, Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1969. (*Bollinger Series*, XX).
3. *¡Ecué—yamba—ó!*. Madrid, Ed. Esoaña, 1933, pág. 11. En lo sucesivo, el número de la página en esta edición figurará en el texto, entre paréntesis.
4. "Alejo Carpentier: Realismo mágico", en *Homenaje a Alejo Carpentier*. New York. Las Américas, 1970, pág. 41.
5. Jung, *op. cit.*, pág. 30.

LLEGADA DE LA PRIMAVERA

Hoy es diferente a cualquier otro día
Los árboles—las flores—los ruiseñores
se cuentan historias invernales

El sol primaveral sonríe
desplegando sus alas
entre las nubes

La grama se levanta de su lecho
sacudiendo su cabellera verdiamarilla

Sentadas no muy lejos colegialas
inocentes inventan amores de
príncipes y de palacios deslumbrantes

Los automóbiles en su pasar vertiginoso
se derriten en mis ojos sin dejar huellas
de la ausencia

Una cisterna de aire
cansada de azotar los árboles
destila desilución a través de los cristales

Por el umbral de la puerta poco a poco
se va filtrando la fragancia de la tarde
y el alma taciturna envuelta en sus quehaceres
cotidianos va recogiendo unos que otros
recuerdos solitarios

José S. Cuervo
Claremont, Marzo de 1979

The Unholy Holy Man in *Guzmán de Alfarache*

Lazarillo de Tormes was first published in 1554 and, because of its obvious satire of the clergy, the Inquisition banned it in 1559. However, according to general critical opinion, this is the one picaresque element that does not appear in *Guzmán de Alfarache*. This apparent absence is easily explained by the strong forces of the Counter-Reformation which arose in Spain between the times that the two works appeared. As Donald McGrady says:

> In view of the historical circumstances prevailing in Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century—the kings who conceived as their principal mission the propagation of Catholicism, the enormous power of the Inquisition, the ideals of the Counter-Reformation, the strict censorship of books by the Church—it is not surprising that no writer was foolish enough to continue the tendencies of the author of *Lazarillo*, who dared not reveal his identity.[1]

Alemán realized that any blatant criticism of the Church and its hierarchy would lead to censorship of his work and probably to personal persecution. Therefore, in order to criticize an institution which he viewed as corrupt, Alemán used a subtle form of criticism that went totally unnoticed by those he was attacking. This has led many critics to state that he lashed out at everything "con excepción de los eclesiásticos."[2] However, if one compares the Cardinal in the *Guzmán* with the Priest of Maqueda in *Lazarillo*, Alemán's criticism becomes more apparent.

It is the intention of this study, therefore, to examine the episode involving the Cardinal in *Guzmán de Alfarache* in order to understand the way in which Alemán actually viewed the clergy. It will evaluate to what extent the period influenced the manner in which Alemán presented his views and examine whether, in fact, such critics as A. A. Parker and Enrique Moreno Báez were correct in believing that the *Guzmán* is an arch-Catholic work.

If, indeed, Alemán did want to criticize the Church hierarchy, he had to devise a strategem wherein, on the surface, the clergy was made to look good, but, upon more careful examination, his criticism would become obvious. It is important to note that Alemán sets this episode in Rome, the center of the Church's world, and chooses as his clergyman a Cardinal. Both of these elements serve to symbolize the core of the Church and its hierarchy.

Alemán begins I, iii, 6 with a sermon about charity and the purpose it serves in society. Guzmán feels that the rich exercise Christian charity

only to insure their own salvation and not for altruistic reasons. In Guzmán's words:

> Rico amigo ¿no estás harto, cansado y ensordecido de oir las veces que te han dicho que los que hicieres por cualquier pobre, que lo pide por Dios, lo haces por el mismo Dios y él mismo te queda obligado a la paga, haciendo deuda ajena suya propia?[3]

In the course of this sermon Alemán inserts the anecdote about the emperor Zenón, who uses acts of charity to buy his own salvation. Thus Alemán demonstrates that it is not absolutely necessary to be a good person or a good Christian to attain salvation and that God can be bought.

Following Alemán's exposition on charity, the reader is introduced to the Cardinal. Upon seeing Guzmán, who is feigning injury, and hearing his cries, the Cardinal orders his servants to take the boy to his home and put him to bed. This action, in itself, seems selfless and charitable. However, in light of the preceding sermon, the reader is inclined to wonder whether the Cardinal is acting selflessly or if he is, in fact, only trying to secure his own salvation through charitable acts. Guzmán refers to him as "El buen cardenal, a quien sólo caridad movía" (p. 239). It remains dubious, however, as to which aspect of charity Guzmán is referring.

Once Guzmán reaches the Cardinal's home, the Cardinal orders that two doctors examine the boy's leg. Guzmán realizes that the doctors will discover that his injury has been a sham to gain the sympathy of monseñor (the Cardinal). His fear, however, is not of offending monseñor or of being caught, but, rather, "el temer a monseñor, cuán bravo castigo me había de mandar hacer por la burla recebida" (p. 236). Though the Cardinal might be angered at being fooled, one would expect him to undertake the reform of this young boy, showing him the road to his salvation instead of reacting with strong punishment. Since it is Guzmán-galeote narrating retrospectively at this point, he must be speaking from experience, i.e. that he is well familiar with monseñor's temper and knows that punishment rather than sound counseling will follow.

The next chapter also begins with a sermon whose lesson is closely related to the adventures that will immediately follow. This anecdote deals with la Verdad and la Mentira. During this sermon there is a physical description of la Mentira and the style in which she travels. The richness of her possessions and her clothing parallels descriptions of the interior of a large cathedral and the clothing of a man in the upper echelons of the clergy, possibly even the pope. In essence, it is a portrait of the Cardinal and the manner in which he lives. The narrator goes on to say "Quien buscare a la Verdad, no la hallará con la Mentira ni sus ministros"(p. 246). As the following chapters will show, the Cardinal is the personification of la Mentira; thus Guzmán will not encounter la Verdad, the word of God, at monseñor's home.

Unlike that of the Priest of Maqueda in *Lazarillo*, the Cardinal's home is filled with food and the servants are well cared for.[4] We see in the *Guzmán* a situation corresponding to the different levels of the two clergymen. Although Guzmán is being well fed he says "Ibame tras la golosina, como ciego en el rezado"(p. 254). It is not really hunger that moves him to steal, as it does Lazarillo; it is his desire for sweets.[5] Like the Priest of Maqueda, monseñor has a chest in which he keeps edibles, but his is filled with sweet dried fruits instead of a few crumbs of bread. Like his counterpart in *Lazarillo*, the Cardinal keeps his prized possessions under lock and key. Only in his presence may a servant remove what is desired. Clearly, monseñor, like the niggardly Priest of Maqueda, trusts no one alone with his hoard. His lack of trust in his servants (fellow man, if you will), and his selfishness create yet another un-Christian feeling in Guzmán, who says: "Desta desconfianza nació ira, de la ira deseo de venganza"(p. 254–55). This desire for vengeance is obviously antithetical to the doctrine of Christian charity.

Guzmán, determined to partake of the delicacies that the chest contains, breaks into it without the aid of a key. In *Lazarillo*, this act would have constituted a violation against God himself, since that chest is directly related to God and religion.[6] However, in the *Guzmán*, the chest has nothing to do with either. Its function has been corrupted to one of being the wordly larder of monseñor, who thus perverts its religious aspect. The theft of the sweets by Guzmán, therefore, is not a religious experience. In fact, the reverse is true: "Así, era señor de cuanto dentro estaba"(p. 256). Since Guzmán has gained control over the contents of the chest he becomes a type of deity, ruling over the destiny of its contents. As the boy has eaten one of monseñor's favorite sweets, the loss is noticed immediately: "Y desto pesara mucho a monseñor, tener en su casa quien se atreviera a falsarle cerraduras y más las den dentro de su retrete"(p. 256). The monseñor is less bothered by the fact that a servant has committed an un-Christian act than furious at someone's pilfering that which was reserved exclusively for his own gluttony. To discover the thief, he has all of the servants locked up, hoping to reveal the truth; but, in the house of la Mentira, this is impossible. This cruelty and total mistrust is hardly exemplary conduct for a man of God, yet, like the Priest of Maqueda, monseñor will do anything to protect the material gains that his position in the Church affords him.

Guzmán is finally caught in the act of stealing. It is strange that, for the first time, we see Guzmán assuming what appears to be a religious position. When the Cardinal finds him with his arm in the chest, Guzmán is "de rodillas" and realizes that his must "confesar" his sin. However, this first seemingly religious situation disintegrates due to the humor that the Cardinal sees in the scene: "Dióle tanta gana de reir en verme de aquella manera, que llamó a los que con él jugaban, para que me vieran"(p. 258). Not only does monseñor prevent Guzmán from confessing his sins and possibly repenting, but, in addition, he exposes him to ridicule in the eyes of his friends.

The situation, however, worsens. Although his friends try to dissuade him, monseñor insists on having Guzmán beaten in order to avenge the loss of his possessions. It is out of place for a man of God to desire vengeance, especially when the need is so strong that it causes him to go against the advice of everyone else present.

This episode has several consequences: Guzmán is beaten more severely than the Cardinal has ordered; then there is a series of retaliations back and forth between the participants as each avenges his injury and is, in turn, subjected to retribution. In this atmosphere of practical jokes and levity, Alemán is best accomplishing a goal of his work: criticism of the clergy. Since " 'lo picaresco', en su esencia, no era materia amena, sino más bien amarga bajo un exterior de burlas"[7], Alemán uses this burlesque climate to demonstrate how many people in the Cardinal's house are consumed by a desire for vengeance. All of these acts are not only disregarded by monseñor, since he does not punish these people, but he finds humor in each tragic incident. The retribution and pain it causes serve as a form of entertainment for the Cardinal. Even when these jokes turn the *camarero*, an "hombre donoso, sin punta de malicia, todo del buen tiempo, hecho a la buena fe"(p. 261) into a man who is bent on retaliation, the Cardinal does not act. The perverted atmosphere of monseñor's home turns a good Christian man into one whose feelings go against Christian doctrine. It is obvious that the Cardinal fails to set a proper example for the servants in his home.[8]

When the Cardinal receives a shipment of dried fruits Guzmán immediately steals a barrel without anyone's knowledge. Monseñor, unaware that one of the barrels is missing, puts temptation directly in Guzmán's path. He shows the fruit to the boy and, in effect, encourages him to steal some of it, saying that if he can get away with it, he will be rewarded with a second barrel. It is un-Christian to encourage a boy not only to steal, but, in addition, to make it a rewarding experience. Once again, the Cardinal encourages negative chracteristics in his followers. He also backs up this negative enforcement with the threat of punishment if Guzmán cannot accomplish this feat. In other words, stealing is a positive action, while failure to steal is negative in the home of the Cardinal, who himself establishes these inverse ideals. When the Cardinal finds that Guzmán has succeeded, it becomes apparent that monseñor never intended to teach Guzmán through negative example, thus showing him where he was going wrong. Instead, "Cuando monseñor la vió, admiróse"(p. 270) that Guzmán had gotten away with it. The Cardinal is impressed by sin and admires Guzmán for his cunning. Stealing in the house of monseñor acquires a positive value because of his encouragement, reinforcement, and reward.

When monseñor rewards Guzmán for the theft with the second barrel of fruit, Guzmán gives it to the rest of the pages "para que conociesen de mi ánimo ser noble"(p. 272). Guzmán has been converted into a "rich" man at this point. He finds it possible to submit to the perverse

form of charity previously mentioned and to attempt to buy himself salvation with the fruit he receives for his sins.

The beginning of chapter 9 restates the notion that the rich and powerful can buy salvation through charity. Guzmán says that the Cardinal "Deseaba tanto mi remedio como si dél resultara el suyo" (p. 275). Monseñor allows Guzmán to continue his delinquent ways in his home and rewards him with food from his own table, hoping that by being "good" (charitable) to the poor youth, God will reward him with salvation. The Cardinal is also hoping that by giving the boy food freely it will keep him from stealing the more precious possessions that he wants for himself. Instead of showing Guzmán the proper way to conduct himself, monseñor finds it easier to buy his own salvation and not worry about the boy's at all. In reality, the Cardinal's encouragement further reinforces Guzmán's negative attitudes.

In the following chapter monseñor again receives a shipment of fruit and assigns Guzmán the task of drying it in the sun. In this instance monseñor gives Guzmán permission to eat as much of the fruit as he wants at one sitting, hoping that it will prevent him from stealing it. This is not to keep the boy from sinning through theft, but, rather, an attempt to preserve the Cardinal's own material possessions. Notwithstanding, having seen how he is rewarded for stealing, Guzmán does not eat any fruit, but begins to steal some of it and fixes the boxes so that no one will know it is gone. When Guzmán finally reveals what he has done, monseñor becomes furious. The Cardinal's pattern of reinforcing negative qualities at this point becomes inconsistent. When Guzmán tells him that he has not yet eaten any of the fruit, monseñor forgives him. He asks to know how the boy has been concealing the fact that there is fruit missing from the boxes, since he himself has been checking them. When Guzmán explains, the Cardinal admires the theft and praises Guzmán for his ingenuity rather than resorting to punishment.

After completely corrupting whatever values Guzmán may have had, monseñor gets boared with this entertainment. Although Guzmán says, "Sentíalo monseñor en el alma. Nada pudo aprovechar comigo amonestaciones, persuasiones, palabras ni promesas, para quitarme de malas costumbres"(p. 284), the reader knows better. Monseñor would rather see Guzmán lost forever than to continue sharing with him. The idea that Guzmán's gambling is the last straw for the Cardinal is ludicrous. The Cardinal himself has been known to gamble on occasion. He evicts Guzmán, hoping that the boy will realize how good the house is and will want to come back as a loyal, but undemanding, servant.

Guzmán blames everything on himself when he leaves: "Extendime como ruin, quedéme para ruin, pues fuí ingrato a las mercedes y beneficios de Dios"(p. 286) In reality, however, none of the fault is his. He has simply been a pawn in the games of the Cardinal. During the entire time he spends in the service of the Cardinal there has been no attempt to introduce him to the benefits of organized religion. Since the *Alum-*

brado movement has died out or been stifled by the Counter-Reformation at this point, Alemán is demonstrating the difficulty, or perhaps the impossibility, of encountering God through the "proper" channels of the Church hierarchy.[9] If most clergymen of the time were like monseñor, the people could not depend on them for religious guidance. Even the men holding the highest positions in the Church, like monseñor, were far more concerned with their own comfort than with the souls of their followers. As Alemán presents it, direct contact with God was being quashed by both the Counter-Reformation and the corrupt hierarchy of the Church. The people were prevented from attaining any kind of salvation unless they could buy it.

It is obvious that Mateo Alemán is presenting a picture of a Cardinal who is greedy, gluttonous, perverse, vengeful, untrusting, and devoid of religion. Monseñor appears to be a most charitable man who has taken a poor youth off the street in order to help him. Guzmán arrives in the holy city and "lo recoge un bondadoso cardenal, quien lo emplea como paje y le ofrece, amén de instrucción, todas las oportunidades deseables para regenerarse."[10] But, as we have seen, the Cardinal only reinforces the boy's unsavory traits. The Cardinal's bad example has been effective because under his tutelage Guzmán's morality has eroded. If, indeed, monseñor were really virtuous, Guzmán's degeneration may have been reversed.

The most astonishing point in this episode, one which serves Alemán's critical goal best, is that throughout monseñor's presence in the work there is never any trace of religion. Only once does the narrator refer to the fact that the Cardinal is going to church. This is strange since even the cruel Priest of Maqueda held mass. The Cardinal does nothing but enjoy life along the same hedonistic lines as would any rich and powerful man. In this sense the Cardinal is a "síntesis admirable a los hombres de la Iglesia, que engrosan las filas clericales para vivir bien la vida del cuerpo."[11] Alemán, like the anonymous author of *Lazarillo*, is stating that the religious responsibilities of the clergy are secondary to the material gains that their positions allow them. The entire episode, then, is a clear, though subtle, attack upon the Church hierarchy.

At the end of the episode of the Priest of Maqueda in *Lazarillo* the protagonist is ejected from his Garden of Eden.[12] The situation in *Guzmán de Alfarache* is similar, but there is an important reversal of roles. In the case of the *Guzmán*, the protagonist is "hijo de Eva" and, through his own admission, "metido en un paraíso de conservas, podríame tentar la serpeinte de la carne"(p. 278). The serpent, in this case, is the Cardinal. It is he who tempts Guzmán with the forbidden fruit time and time again. It is he who encourages Guzmán to steal (sin) and, when he does, he is the one finally ejected from "paradise." But this paradise, unlike Lazarillo's, is devoid of God.[13] Guzmán has been expelled for his "sins" against the earthly possessions of the unholy Cardinal.

It seems evident that Alemán, like the author of *Lazarillo*, was aware that the Church hierarchy was corrupt and desperately in need of reform. Alemán gives a high official of the Church the same negative qualities that the anonymous author of *Lazarillo* had given his lowly parish priest—hardly an arch-Catholic attitude on the part or our author. The different presentation of this criticism attests to growing strength of the Counter-Reformation.

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NOTES

1. Donald McGrady, *Mateo Alemán* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968), p. 60.
2. Enrique Moreno Báez, *Lección y sentido del Guzmán de Alfarache* (Madrid: Revista de filología española, 1948), p. 53.
3. Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1969), p. 230. All quotations from this text will be taken from this edition.
4. The Priest of Maqueda appears in the *Tratado segundo* of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and familiarity with this character and this chapter are recommended for comprehension of comparisons made in this article.
5. See McGrady, p. 111.
6. For a definition of the symbolism of the chest (arca) in *Lazarillo de Tormes* see Piper, Anson C., "The 'Breadly Paradise' of *Lazarillo de Tormes*", *Hispania*, v. XLIV (1961), pp. 269–71.
7. Marcel Bataillon, *Pícaros y picaresca: La pícara Justina* (Madrid: Taurus ediciones, S.A., 1969), p. 218.
8. For a similar discussion of vengeance in *Guzmán de Alfarache*, see Carroll B. Johnson, *Inside Guzmán de Alfarache* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
9. *Alumbrismo* comes from Erasmian influence in the form of the *alumbrado* movement. Arising from the Reformation, the main point upon which the *alumbrados* insisted was a direct relationship between the believer and the diety, with total circumvention of the established hierarchy of the Church and its ministers. With the advent of the Counter-Reformation, this movement was quashed.
10. Francisco Rico, *La novela picaresca y el punto de vista* (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, S.A., 1973), p. 64.
11. Ciro Espinosa, "La novela picaresca y el *Guzmán de Alfarache*" in *La idea* (Havana, 1935), p. 21.
12. *Lazarillo de Tormes* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1966), pp. 141–45. According to Anson Piper in his article cited above, "The priest's war against heresy is, of course, successful in the end. Lázaro is brutally beaten by the zealous cleric who assumes, quite incorrectly, that the whistling noise emerging from the boy's pallet is the hissing of the snake which is said by neighbors to be the real cause of the diminishing bread supply. Lázaro's ultimate defeat, therefore, stems from the last-minute intrusions of a serpent into his 'breadly paradise.' " The priest's house for Lazarillo is a hell and a paradise. At the end of the chapter, however, it is more of a paradise since he has been eating, but it is the snake that is the cause of his eviction.
13. In *Guzmán de Alfarache* the protagonist views the Cardinal's home, with all its comforts, as a paradise on earth. This paradise, unlike Lazarillo's, is complete with "forbidden fruit." But the situation is reversed in this work. The protagonist is not the sinner. He proclaims himself the child of Eve, and the Cardinal is the snake who places the temptation and when he succumbs, he is ejected from paradise. He is ejected by the "god" who rules this material "paradise"—the Cardinal.

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Congreso: "Literatura Chilena en El Exilio"
7, 8, 9 de febrero, 1980

En el mes de febrero del próximo año, los días jueves 7, viernes 8 y sábado 9, se realizará en California State University at Los Angeles, un congreso de escritores chilenos, residentes en Estados Unidos y Canadá. El título de este congreso es "Literatura Chilena en El Exilio." Los patrocinadores son: El Departamento de Lenguas y Literatura Extranjeras, El Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, La Sociedad Latinoamericana, Sigma Delta Pi, Teatro Universitario en Español, todos organismos de CSULA y la revista literaria *Literatura chilena en el exilio* que se publica en Los Angeles, California.

La sesión inaugural está fijada para el jueves 7 a las 7 de la noche y las sesiones de trabajo se llevarán a cabo en las mañanas y en las tardes, tratándose los siguientes temas: teatro, narrativa, testimonio, narrativa (novela y cuento) y poesía.

También están programados eventos especiales, como ser actuación de la Compañía de los 4 de Chile, actualmente residentes en Caracas, la cual actuará el viernes 8 en la noche y un concierto de La Nueva Canción Chilena para el sábado siguiente.

Paralela a esta conferencia se exhibirá una muestra de más de 50 cuadros de pintores chilenos en el exilio.

Actualmente están en pleno trabajo los comités de programa, finanzas, publicidad, música, arte y teatro.

La fecha de la conferencia más o menos coincide con la iniciación del cuarto año de la publicación de la revista *Literatura chilena en el exilio* que dirige el profesor de Stanford University, Fernando Alegría y que edita el poeta residente en Los Angeles, David Valjalo.

Para mayores informaciones se puede ponerse en contacto con las siguientes personas: Dr. Timothy F. Harding, Latin American Studies Center, California State University, Los Angeles, 5151 State University Drive, Los Angeles, Ca. 90032, teléfono (213) 224-2878; o a David Valjalo, Editor, Revista Literatura Chilena en el Exilio, P.O. Box 3013, Hollywood, Ca. 90028.

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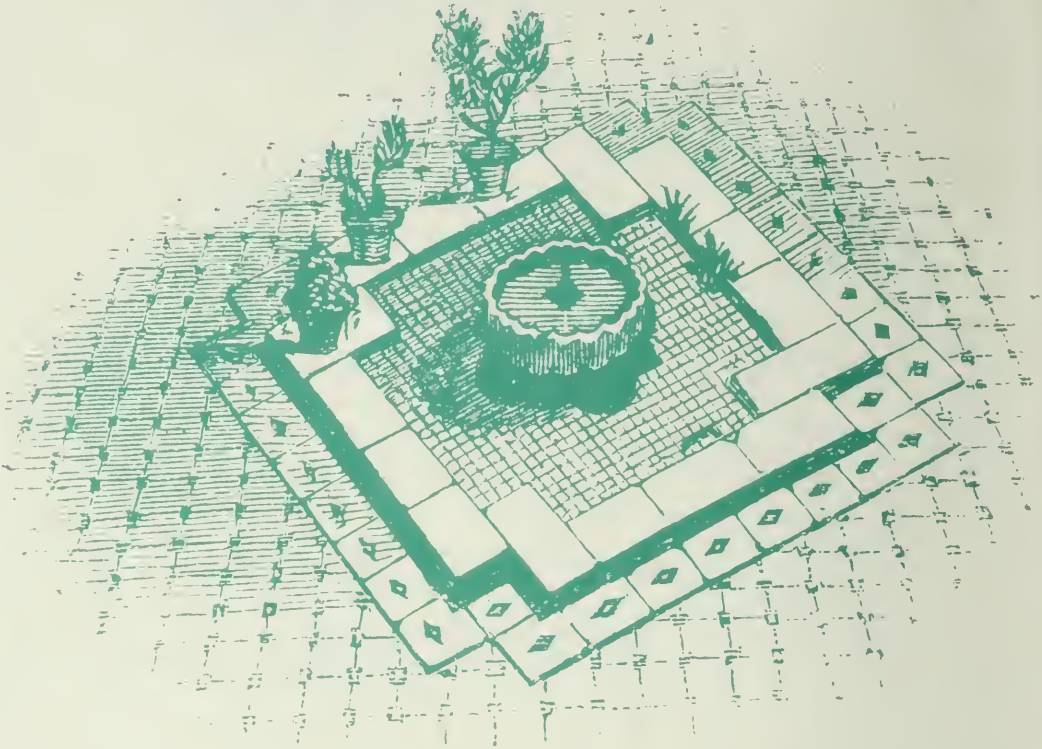
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